1: Wang
764

AE5 Miao

[For the materials on tso-chai service, see 765. Since tso-chai service is held within one or two years after the death of a Miao and not the funeral service it is classified under 765.]

/51 cont'd/

585 dong (transliteration) are in bloom. It is said that this period of the year is unlucky for marriage. The best times for a marriage are in the eleventh month, twelfth month, and the first month.

3. Funeral Service

764 The funeral is usually held on the second day after the death of a Miao. Without waiting for a request from the dead man's family, his fellow villagers gather together voluntarily to offer their assistance in attending to the funeral rites. The coffin is made of wood. After the corpse is placed in it, the coffin is taken out through the main entrance. Three burning incense sticks are put in front of the coffin. At the same time, a man holding a big knife chants incan-
[763] tations toward the coffin. After the coffin is covered, two Taoist priests face the dead person and pray. It is said that they pray that he, in the other world, will bless the children he has left behind. A priest cuts three ropes which were previously put on top of the coffin. It is said that the idea of this is to tell the deceased that the different paths of yin and yang are now separated by this. After the dead man's children have set their finger prints on the coffin, it is carried by four men to the grave site and interred. A simple band of musicians and the dead man's son (or sons) accompanies the coffin to the grave. If his son (or sons) is too young, he only escorts the coffin to the gate of the village. Daughters do not accompany the coffin. After the burial, the funeral is over. The Miao do not have any post-
[767] funeral services as the Chinese do, such as the "Seventh Day Memorial Services," "Anniversary Memorial Service," "Third Anniversary Memorial Service," "Tomb-sweeping Ceremony," etc. While the burial is taking place the hats of the dead man's children
[765] are fastened with hemp strings to indicate mourning. After the burial is over, they are taken off.

765 According to Miao superstition, the tso-chai service is necessary before the soul of the deceased can reach its final resting place.
[771] The tso-chai service of the Miao is similar to the chien-chiao service of the Chinese. /52/ According to Miao custom, this service is held within one or two years after the death. The service may last

/129 cont'd/

755 796 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we inquired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stomach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 137 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 764 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The [71] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

/133 cont'd/
our dear close by and with a long period of hardship ahead yet to go through.

When we arrived at Ang-chi, Headman Lu let us have a room in his reed house to stay in. The place was low and moist, without sunlight, and really inadequate as a place to live in. But, for the sake of our mission to study the peoples here, we had to accept the lower level of living and hygiene. For our food, vegetables were 262 difficult to get, and meat was out of the question; we would have to rely on the canned food we had brought along with us.

765 /134/ By evening ten or more civilian and military Taoist priests, engaged for the tso chai service, had all arrived, and suddenly there was an air of gaiety and excitement in the bamboo shed. Everybody gathered around the fire to smoke, and I joined them in conversation till late at night.

Second month, twenty-sixth day. (Friday)

828 In the morning a Miao from Chih-pao village came, and we had good talk together. He too complained a great deal to me about how hard their life was, how they were being mistreated by other people, how they hoped we could help them ameliorate their present conditions, and, above all, how they wished the government would promote educational institutions for them so that everyone would get a chance to become literate. These fundamental needs were certainly the least they could ask for, but who ever heard their cries, and, among those who heard them, who ever paid attention to them? All my sympathies were for them, and deep in my heart I felt only shame and discomfort.

765 To feast the tso-chai priests, Headman Lu had ordered some men to go up into the mountains to kill a cow pastured in the wilds and [262] bring it back. We bought two catties of beef from them for 20 copper coins. The meat tasted delicious for supper.

●764 A funeral took place in the afternoon for Headman Lu's younger brother's wife, who had become ill and died the night before; it was very simple. The dead woman left five children, three sons and two

/134 cont'd/

764 daughters, the eldest being only twelve or thirteen years of age. These orphans had had the misfortune of losing their father the previous year. Now they had also lost their mother and wept without raising their heads. We felt very sorry for them and gave them some 50 copper coins. Though our gift could not relieve their distress, we felt a little better in our hearts.

765 The tso-chai started in the evening. The bamboo shed was filled with pictures of gods on the walls. On one side were the military gods and on the other the civilian gods, the distinction between them being rather strict. The Taoist priests were likewise divided into military and civilian groups and were on opposite sides. The methods and texts they used were also different from each other's.

/135/ Second month, twenty-seventh day. (Saturday)

The program for the tso-chai today was: in the morning the chao hun /"to call back the soul"/, in the afternoon the ch'uan tao /"to summon to Taoist priesthood"/. The chao hun was the calling-back of the souls of the dead, and was like the Chinese ritual. The ch'uan tao has nothing to do with the tso-chai, but has great significance in Miao social life. From what people say, Taoist priests, 554 793 who carry out the religious duties, enjoy higher social status than ordinary people and various special privileges. Therefore, Miao men, unless held back by financial difficulties (because carrying out the ch'uan tao ceremony entails an expenditure of money), invariably undergo the ch'uan tao baptismal rite. Moreover, each [779] kind of Taoist priest has its canons, the only written literature of the Miao. One must have the qualifications of a Taoist priest in order to be able to receive this kind of literary education. In this respect religious instruction and education can be said to be one. The priests are also privileged in possessing special knowledge of other sorts, which the ordinary Miao cannot get, which naturally contributes further to their special social position. Today those who received the ch'uan tao baptismal rite were: four as civilian priests, the eldest being some twenty years old and the youngest an unweaned

/77 cont./ Today, those

291 Miao scattered through Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and
184 Indochina still retain for the most part their original style of
[177] dress. In 1934 when the authors were studying the Miao tribe in Sung-lin-shao, at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, they saw that the women for the most part wore old-style clothes, but the men's clothing mainly followed the Chinese style. In the course of
291 conversation with an old man of over 70, they found that he
[123] kept two men's garments, which he regarded as precious and was not willing to show to people. The offer to purchase them as specimens was rejected, no matter what the price. They only got to take two photographs, Illus. 43 and 44, which show an open-front long gown, without a front piece /ch'ien pai/ but with two sleeves. The top front and the back /hou pai/ of
[53] the gown had a great deal of embroidery. To make that gown must have required a lot of work.

291 The Miao women's clothing in western Hunan resembles
53 that of farm women in the interior during the last days of the
[177] Ch'ing dynasty. The length of the upper garment does not pass the knee, it has a wide border and an embroidered lapel, and the sleeves and trousers of even ordinary house garments have embroidered borders (Illus. 42). The workmanship and the color combinations are slightly different from the Chinese. Illustrations 45 and 46 show the everyday clothes of Miao women, with a wide border and embroidered large lapel. About a kung fen beyond the wide border, is further added a narrow border of about two kung fen. In between the two borders they sew on a strip of colored cloth or woolen thread. On the sleeves are also sewed on one, two, or three borders. But for the most part there is no collar.

292 Garments worn when a bride is married or at festivals or
[53] at weddings (Illus. 48-[illegible]) are embroidered on the large lapel and on the front and back pieces with plant designs and human figures, involving much labor. The Miao girl in her whole life makes only one such gown, starting making it a few years before her marriage for her wedding dress, and after her
[64] marriage /Illus. 41-52 on pp. 78-87/ /88/ she wears it on

[text continues on p. 122]

/88 cont./
292 festive occasions, and when she dies it is her burial gown. The
[764] Miao girl also wears a sleeveless jacket or vest (Illus. 52).
291 Among the Miao people studied by the authors in Yunnan,
regardless of whether they were Pe Miao, Ch'ing Miao, or Hua
[184] Miao, the women all wore skirts and did not wear trousers. The
Miao women in Hunan all wore trousers and did not wear skirts.
When an old woman was questioned she said that in the old days
they mainly wore skirts. When we were investigating in western
[126] Hunan we searched in all quarters and bought a skirt, made of
red and black hemp cloth sewed together, and each piece of
[292] cloth was embroidered with woolen yarn. This was a skirt for
dress-up times. The Miao women in Yunnan generally wear
hemp cloth skirts such as shown in Illus. 53 and 54. The skirt
in question is made of white hemp cloth in two parts, the upper

Illus. 53. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (1), front view.

/93 cont./
551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they 582 have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization [614] of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage [177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of [551] the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big 177 dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family 594 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs, ● 764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him. [345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered [584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a 517 betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing [533] Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would

/100 cont./

(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage [177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old [113] funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume 40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan (1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man [787] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and there a hole three or four ch'ih deep is dug, which is lined with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family 765 slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink. In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial 769 offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their 782 offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to custom. This is done every year for three years and no more. They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year. 765 The newly bereaved family is condoled with gifts of local products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer 764 of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden [113] planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them. Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three 765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb, 782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being wined and dined. In the second month of the following year, 769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women [782] disappear into mountain caves, which is called 'warding off disaster.'"

/100 cont./

000 disaster.'" Volume 6 of Sung-t'ao Chih-li T'ing Chih /Gazeteer
764 of the Locally Administerial Sub-prefecture of Sung-t'ao (1834)/
[113] states: "When a Miao dies, the half corpse /?/ is laid to rest on the fire bed, near his feet are erected two poles which reach to the roof tiles. This is called 'ascending to heaven.' The
[765] body is then placed in a coffin. The mourning lasts for a
[554] month. The relatives by marriage offer condolences, the rich sending cattle and wine, the poor, wine and rice. The clothes left by the dead are stuffed into an effigy. Those gathered beat cymbals and drums, sing and dance in response to each other. This is called tiao ku /'tunes and drums'/. To divine
[787] the burial site they call on a Miao sorcerer. By throwing a
[752] chicken he divines whether a locality is auspicious or not. This
[768] is called 'chicken divination.' Some use a piece of wood cut into two halves, which is called 'wood divination.' After the burial, they bank up the earth into a long mound."

764 According to the funeral customs of the Miao today, when
782 a man dies, three chin and six liang of paper money are burned for him, which is called "money for scattering his breath." The ashes of the burned paper money are wrapped in a piece of white paper in a package and placed beside the dead body. A bowl of cooked rice with an egg on top, together with several yellow wheat stalks, is placed at the foot of the dead as a
764 sacrifice. Some calamus are picked in the woods and boiled in a panful of water. A person with a different surname is asked to wash the body of the dead with the water and to change his clothes. The size of the trouser girdles used depends upon the
[292] age of the deceased. For instance, if the dead man is 80, then his belt is made of 80 threads; if the dead man is 60, then 60 threads are used, and so on. /101/ After the burial clothes have been put on the body, two planks are put on two benches in the main room in the form of a bed, which is called liu ch'uang /"willow bed"/. The body is then placed on it, and a
[752] sacrificial table is set before it. A Miao sorcerer is asked to
[789] the house to perform the ritual. The sorcerer wields a sword of straw, from the handle of which a strip of white cloth dangles.

/101 cont./

The mourning son of the deceased, with a bamboo rice basket hanging from his waist, and the sorcerer stand beside the body. While the sorcerer utters spells, he points his straw sword in his right hand first toward the body of the deceased, then to the basket of the son, back and forth, until he has finished uttering the spells. With his left hand the son pulls the fingers of the dead, and with the right hand he scrapes these fingers with a thin slice of bamboo several times and then drops the bamboo into the basket. Meanwhile the priest continues his incantations. After the righthand fingers of the dead man have been scraped, his lefthand fingers are given the same treatment until the incantations are completed. After the Miao sorcerer finishes his performance, another guest sorcerer is invited to come chant a liturgy and "buy water." On the gate, in Chinese fashion, there is pasted a strip of white paper, on which are written the three characters Tang Ta Shih /"carrying out the important matter" — a parent's funeral/. Messengers are sent to announce the death to clan members in distant places. When the clan members receive the news and come to offer condolences, there is no set ritual of condolence, but the family of the daughter-in-law must give a pig's head, a piece of pork, a large jar of rice, as well as incense, candles, paper, and firecrackers. A son-in-law must give a pig, a goat, and a tableful of fish and meat dishes, called the "yang /earthly/ feast," and a tableful of simulated fish, meat, chicken, and duck made of flour, called the "yin /spirit world/ feast," together with a number of strings of cash incense, and candles. Guests coming to offer condolences follow the same ceremony as the Chinese.

In the evening of the day that mourning ceremonies begin, first the pig and goat presented by the son-in-law are slaughtered and cooked and placed in a number of bowls, which are offered in sacrifice before the coffin. After the sacrificial ceremony, the distant paternal relatives /tsu hsiung-ti/ of the bereaved family are asked to come forward to take part in the drinking

/101 cont./

764 of wine, known to the Miao as "dark night /?/" /hsiao yeh/ to show that both hosts and guests feel grateful and in harmony. After the offering by the son-in-law, the maternal uncle of
764 the deceased, customarily called hou ch'in or hou pei /"empress'
604 relative" or "empress' generation"/ also comes forth with a
605 pig's head to offer in sacrifice. After this ceremony is over, he also invites the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family and those on the maternal side who came with the maternal uncle to drink together. After the wine has been drunk, one of the paternal male third cousins of the bereaved family or an eloquent elder of the village is asked to act as the go-between to request from the bereaved family huo-pa chiu /"torch wine"/. The huo-pa chiu consists of a certain number of chin of wine, a certain number of chin of meat, towels, and cloth. Those who go with the "empress' relative" each receive a towel and a certain number of ch'ih of cloth "for showing the way." The last item is necessary, but the others may be more or less given at discretion.

764 After the "empress' relative" has received the various
604 items of hou-pa chiu, he is charged with certain duties at the time of carrying the corpse to the grave. Before the procession he has to wrap the white cloth received over his body, wrap his head with a white towel and hold a straw sword with a white towel dangling from the handle. He has to stand before the coffin or before the main entrance, uttering several phrases of
[789] a magic formula, and then with the straw sword /102/ he knocks three times on the entrance, whereupon the procession
[75] can start off. Holding a fire stick in his hand, the sorcerer picks up the lamp bowl from under the coffin and places it upside down on the coffin, and after uttering spells, he shatters the bowl with the fire stick, and everyone immediately carries the coffin out the entrance. The "empress' relative" still wrapped in white cloth, a white towel on his head, holding a straw sword in his left hand and a torch in his right, marches in front of the coffin, and goes first, leading the way. The filial son in mourning and the mourners march, men before the

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[606] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave
[372] pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."
764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the
[791] grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice,
[177] in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family. If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male members will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the
764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes. After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
[774] they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.
764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/." and cause
[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

4:Mickey E-6 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

brother and his family alone in the Hsia-tai house. Fourteen households consisted of a man, his wife, and children; four of a widow or widower with children; one of an old man and his wife; one of a woman whose husband was away, and her small son. One elderly widow lived alone for a time and one single man lived with his brother's family. 596

Sons were more desired than daughters, but parents were genuinely fond of their girls and appreciated the fact that they were of considerable help while still at home. After they were married they lived at home until pregnant, and after they lived permanently in the husband's home, they still came to visit at the festival of the fifteenth of the first lunar month and other special times. During the slack season women were often invited to villages in which they had relatives to "drink wine." This was sometimes in the village from which they had come, and the opportunity to visit with old friends and relatives was very welcome. 562

The one Chinese family in the village was comparatively poor, as most Chinese who lived among the Miao were, in spite of the fact that they said they were the original owners of the site. Their children played with the Miao children and there were other social contacts, but on the whole they kept their own customs and were never more than onlookers at such times as weddings, funerals, and special feasts. Once the woman asked a Miao woman visitor to tell her fortune with a bowl of rice. 563

An examination of the grave sites belonging to the village indicated that there had been at least five generations, including the youngest one then living, in this place. The family in which I lived had come from Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien during the lifetime of the oldest member. One of the graves on the same mound as that where the old lady from House 1 was buried was that of the mother of a man buried in another place to the south of the bullfight meadow. Two others side by side were those of his grandfather and grandmother. 764

During the time I spent in Yang-chia-tai I made two visits to Yang-niu-ts'un. This was half a day's journey over the mountains to the southeast and in a valley containing five 361

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 villages, all of Cowrie Shell Miao, on the slopes, with their fields on other slopes and 563 on the valley floor below. In fact, in the 463 whole *lien pao* of Teh-hua there was just one small group of Chinese of one surname, Ch'u, who lived in the mountains and were iron-596 workers. There I learned that the family in which I lived in Yang-chia-tai had migrated from this village of Yang-niu-ts'un. A younger brother and his family were living in the old home, a fine house with three walls of large, gray brick, and the widowed sister-in-law in one of the other villages. Of these five villages three contained families by the name of Yang (楊) with single families of other surnames, one was of the Lo (羅) family, and 764 one of the Wang (王) family. They had intermarried, as I found out when an old man in the Lo family village, Lo-ying, died. At that time the tripod was set up in Yang-niu-ts'un before the house in which lived a woman from the Lo family. For this old man they danced for two nights and the funeral lasted four days. I noticed here a difference between the funerals for men and for women; for the women two charges of gunpowder were set off at a time, for the men three.

361 The valley was a very lovely one with a great many wooded slopes. Well up on one 342 of these was set the village of Yang-niu-ts'un. Some of the fields were also on the mountain sides, but most of them on the floor of the valley below through which flowed a stream, watered by rivulets from the hillsides. The school and *lien pao* office occupied a new building at the gate of the village. There were other new buildings in the village, too, and foundations with beaten floors filled in and used as threshing floors. Local men were doing the carpentering on one, including the making of wooden water casks, troughs, etc. This was in front of the house belonging to the Wang family, evidently a well-to-do one. 342 Their house was of three storeys with kitchen, stables, and pig-sty on the lowest level, entered by a flight of stone steps. Usually one entered the living rooms from the second level, but there was also a ladder from the stable and kitchen. On the new house I

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

horizontally, and finally the embroidered scarf was put on so that the whole design showed and the ends were tied at the back. All wore new straw sandals.

The costume in which two old ladies were laid out while the ritual of "opening the way" was performed was still different (fig. 18, *f*). The turban was that of a married woman, with the embroidered scarf. Several blouses were put on, of which the outer was of orange silk, and in one case there were two pairs of trousers. Both the pleated skirt and aprons were worn. On the feet were cloth stockings and Chinese cloth shoes. In one case there was just one overpiece; in the other three were tacked together. This latter old lady had kept the old style turban scarf, overpiece, and front apron. The designs were different from those used at the time I was with them and the colors were faded soft and lovely, showing that silk thread with good dyes had been used. That sold in the markets now soon fades to almost white.

The designs on the front apron were in rows, one of birds with wings outspread, one of birds with wings folded, as if rising, and one of an animal, all in white. The design of the front medallion on the overpiece was like that used in modern times, but that in the back was a square within a square, the points of the inner one to the middle of the sides of the outer one. The outer strip over the shoulder had a figure down the center. On the inner strip the four diagonal lines had become two, forming a cross. There were many strips with a dogtooth design on them. The cross-stitch designs were not of the fine type now used, but coarser, more like those on the overpiece worn by another group of Miao women I saw in the Lung-li market who said that they were Lao Hei Miao (Black Miao who had been long in the vicinity.) fig. 18, *f*. On the scarf the designs were of birds and medallions somewhat spaced. Her belt was of the same design as those I saw, but only half as wide.

These Lao Hei Miao women also wore trousers and aprons for everyday, but both aprons were of hemp and had no embroidery. Another group of Miao women, called by the Chinese Pai (White) Miao (fig. 20, *b*), wore the ceremonial skirt constantly over trousers

4;Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

805 The girls sat about two or three fires between
796 the group of grave mounds and a bamboo
527 thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they
341 embroidered and entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, snatching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)[a] and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ting Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

[764]

805 As soon as the first month was over (the
241 middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring
243 appeared the women went to the mountains to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

593 From this time on the life of a Miao bride varied little from that of other Cowrie Shell Miao women. It was not much easier, though a little more full of good things, perhaps, if her husband's family was large and well-to-do and she fitted into it well.

766 **Death and Burial.** When a very small child died, a little coffin was made by the men of the family, but there was no ceremony at the house, other than the singing of the lament by the mother and girls and women of closely related households. During the night when the second grandson of the old man died I heard the mother going all through the village singing the lament, beautifully and sadly as if in real grief. The child was buried next day but I do not know where nor with what ritual. They made it plain that they considered it a strictly family affair and I respected their wishes. The family was genuinely distressed and reasonably so, for he was an exceptionally intelligent child and the only remaining grandson. Moreover, not long before the father had been taken away by soldiers. The mother seemed beside herself for several days, calling another child by her child's name. The old man wept, then apologized for his "weakness." They did not tell the father, for they feared he would make an effort to get back and so get into more trouble.

757 When the baby took ill the mother said it had a fever. I gave it a small dose of quinine and aspirin. She said she did not know of any other symptoms. But the next day they called in the shamaness and, as he lay on a pallet of straw by the fireplace, he showed unmistakable signs of dysentery. Two other children in the family had it at the same time, but recovered. When I learned they had dysentery, I gave the parents bismuth, but it is difficult to administer and they said the children would not take it. That night the baby developed meningitis and died.

764 535 The length of time given to activities and their elaborateness in connection with the death and burial of an adult depended upon the wealth and extent of relationship in the family, as well as the time of year at which the death occurred. I was not in the village

*A rectangle of brown "grass paper" with a de-

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

764 535 when the man of fifty-odd died, but was told they danced for him. A man of about the same age died in Lo-ying, another Cowrie Shell Miao village near Yang-niu-ts'un. For him they danced two nights. A tripod was set up before a house in Yang-niu-ts'un in which lived a woman whose maiden name was Lo and who had come from that village.

764 The first funeral I saw was that of the oldest inhabitant of the village of Yang-chia-sai, a woman of eighty-four. She was related to practically everyone in the whole village and had relatives in other villages, as well. Moreover, she was the only one of her generation left in the village. Two nephews were with the aviation corps of the army, stationed in Kunming. She died on the twenty-third of the first month. I knew nothing about it until I heard the sound of drumming the next day and saw before the house of nearly every family in the village a tripod formed of carrying poles or other poles of the same length, tied together near the top. A wicker scoop rested on top of them, in which was a spray of thorn tied with rushes, a pair of chopsticks, and two bowls, one containing a cooked green vegetable and one cooked rice.

I followed the sound of the drum and found in the house in which the old lady's widowed daughter-in-law lived the following things: In the central room, near the right side as one faced the door and with its foot toward the door, was a coffin, raised a little from the floor. This was of the Chinese type and of wood of the proper thickness. The lid of the coffin was reversed. On it at the upper end was the body of the little, old lady, dressed in her best — new, high Chinese shoes, two pair of new trousers, the short pleated skirt worn by a bride and her attendants, the two aprons, three blouses, the outer one of orange silk, the overpiece, and her best turban with embroidered scarf. On the right side of her body at the waist was a large bunch of tobacco leaves. One of the local priests, who in this case, however, was acting in his capacity as a nephew, was kneeling at the foot of the coffin burning spirit money.[6] This he lighted in the flame of one of two red candles,

sign cut in it, used only for ritual purposes.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

stuck with lighted incense sticks in a measure of rice on the foot of the coffin. Beside the head of the coffin, on its left, was a small table, on which were a jar of wine, a big bowl, and two bamboo tubes. The most skillful and oldest priest of the village, wearing the yellow robe and a large bamboo rainhat, holding in his left arm a chicken and in his right hand a tube of bamboo, was standing by the table chanting. At his waist hung a sword in a wooden sheath. Before him around a fire sat several other men.

In the front room to the right was a cylindrical drum, nearly five feet long and two in diameter, made of wood, with oxhide ends. It had an iron ring fastened to each side. It was so suspended by a withe of bamboo tied to a beam across the room below the rafters that one end rested on the floor at the window and the other was at the height of a man's waist. Above the drum on the beam was suspended an ox's shin bone. Over the beam on one side were three sheaves of rice and on the other side two. A second priest in yellow robe (not from this village) stood before the drum with two sticks in his hand. Other men and boys sat on a bench in the corner of this room. In the front room on the other side sat several women and their children about a floor fire.

As the priest chanted a male relative from another village who sat in the side room with the drum plaited a bamboo basket. At times the priest beat the drum. After a while three of the older women, two daughters and the daughter-in-law, went out and knelt beside the coffin, singing the lament, every line of which ends in sobs. As they sang the priest killed the chicken with the sword at his side and the drum was rolled. This was the ritual of "opening the way." While the priest was chanting, a male relative brought in a rice steamer and put lengths of straw, pieces of bean curd, and a measure of rice into it. He set it on the foot of the coffin. Another man put a large bowl of water on the tripod over the fire and set the steamer in it. After the priest had killed the chicken he stripped off its feathers and the head together, and gave the body to a man, who took it into the yard and cleaned it, then put it into the bowl under the steamer. The priest cut the two lengths

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

of bamboo lengthwise with the sword and cast lots with one pair. The other pair he laid across the top of the steamer. 764.

A second, younger man put on the robe and chanted, being prompted, I thought, by the old priest, who now sat in the circle about the fire. As he chanted he poured wine from the bowl into the jar. Then a third man put on the robe and chanted as he dripped wine from the bowl onto the floor at the head of the coffin. By this time the bamboo basket was plaited. A man put cooked rice and bean curd into it. He shredded the meat of the chicken. Still a fourth man put on the robe and chanted. As he did so he dropped bits of the chicken into the basket. The women had gone back to their fire after the chicken was killed. I was invited to eat a meal of rice and bean curd broth with them. Not knowing what was going to happen, I went home. Later I found that the body had been put into the coffin and the coffin sealed, while the women sang the lament again. The next day I saw that the basket with rice, bean curd, and chicken in it, a small, square basket such as they carry lunch in, and the head and feathers of the chicken had been suspended from bamboo poles, stuck in the wall above the head of the coffin at the side of the room.

That first night from dusk until dawn a priest beat the drum and two young men of the village played the *lu sheng*. They stood beside the coffin first facing it, then one in front of the other, and finally facing one another. A few of the young girls of the village stood in the porch and danced.

The morning of the next day I found that two frames had been put up, of which one formed one large and two small arches at the edge of the porch. It was of bamboo covered with branches of cedar and a few paper roses stuck on here and there. In the room another frame formed a small arch to the right of the coffin and a large arch on the left. A solid piece of lattice came down to a table over the foot of the coffin. On the table was placed a red tablet behind a measure of rice covered with white paper. Over the arches inscriptions were written in Chinese and over the coffin on the lattice a single large character. On either side were scrolls with inscriptions on them. In front of the lattice was a

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

764 square measure of rice with incense sticks in it.

764 That night the young girls, even the tiny
535 ones, of the village and those from other villages who had come to the funeral danced around the room in which the coffin stood. Gradually young men playing the *lu sheng* joined them until there were nine. The little girls soon dropped out and went home to bed. The drum and *lu sheng* were played together, occasionally the drum alone. Some of the beats were on the bone. The rhythm was sometimes steady as if for marching; sometimes with several quick beats (usually six), a rest, and then one; sometimes syncopated, with many beats first on the drum and then on the bone. The dancing was a bouncing with bending of the knees, first on one foot and then on the other. The *lu sheng* players also danced and set the rhythm for the girls, who stood very close side by side in groups moving exactly together. The women of our household dressed me in their tribal costume and told me to go, too. I found the steady beat easy to follow, but not the syncopation, and the girls constantly urged me to be more vigorous. My efforts were almost too much for the solemnity of the old man's son, who was one of the *lu sheng* players. This drum and *lu sheng* playing were repeated for the succeeding three nights from dusk until dawn. During the day some of the small boys played on these instruments. All the Cowrie Shell Miao seemed to be musical and able to play, sing, and dance.

764 During the day men wrote appropriate sentiments in black on white paper and pasted them over the red ones on door and window frames. Banners of checked cloth with similar sentiments on white paper pasted to them were presented by guests as they arrived and someone in the family set them up against the front of the house. As groups of relatives from other villages arrived gunpowder charges or firecrackers were set off. Women in the groups knelt beside the coffin and sang the wailing song. On the third day after her death the most important men and women of the village were invited to a feast. I was included. A pig which one group brought had been killed and the dishes were of fat pork cooked in various ways, dry and fresh bean curd,

celery, carrots, and lean pork. With the rice was mixed red beans. The women and a group of young men ate outside, the other men in the house. As they ate some of the women put choice pieces in front of them and at the end of the feast the women of the household gave them leaves in which to wrap them and carry them home. After this feast I saw bowls of feast food placed on the table over the foot of the coffin and the red tablet, bearing the same inscription as that later to be put on the gravestone, and which had been set behind the measure of rice covered with white paper, set on top of it. On the fourth day a similar feast was held, to which I was also invited. Between times I was asked to hold a clinic for villagers and guests. For this feast nearly everyone sat around tables in the court and most of the guests were men. Many firecrackers were set off.

Burial took place on the twenty-eighth. After breakfast, which was about nine-thirty, I got there to find that the coffin had been taken out into the yard and set on two benches. The various frames and the drum had been taken down. Before the procession started two priests in yellow robes sat at a table at the foot of the coffin. On the table were four bowls of wine and four of pork in broth and four sets of chopsticks. One of the priests chanted as he dripped wine from one of the bowls onto the ground. A group of women sang the wailing song, kneeling beside the coffin. The chief mourners wore a strip of white cloth around the head, with long ends hanging down the back. The son's widow had her hair hanging down her back for all the time until the day of the funeral, when she wore the cloth as a turban.

As the procession started gunpowder charges were set off, the two trumpets of different lengths known as the *sola* and *laja* were played, and the grandson knelt down facing the coffin with bamboo sticks wound in strips of frilled white paper in his hands. Young men from other villages were carrying the coffin at first, but those from this village took it from them with a bit of scuffling and laughter. The procession was made up of musicians; several small boys holding bamboo poles with the gift banners suspended from them; the two priests holding umbrellas; the

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

two chief men mourners, walking bent over and kneeling at every point where a path entered the one they were traversing, while the women sang the lament. and gunpowder charges were set off; the bearers with the coffin; men carrying bundles of faggots, a roll made up of the frame which had been in the room wrapped around a piece of matting such as is used on a bed; men carrying the red tablet, and one carrying a chicken. Two of the women carried a roll of rags and one of the cotton from a comforter, wrapped with an old umbrella.

The procession went out of the village by the path to the south, then around it on the east and to a mound with other graves on it, just a little way northeast of the village. The graves already there were those of her husband's mother and his brother and sister-in-law. These graves had been faced with stones and a large stone tablet had been set up before each one. These bore the name of the deceased — married name in the case of the women, surname and given name in the case of the man — the names of the sons and grandsons who had erected them, and the date of erection.

When they reached the mound the boys set up the bamboo poles with banners on them on the mound. The men in the procession built one fire in the grave and burned much spirit money in it. They built a second fire to the right and a third to the left of the grave. These men kept the righthand fire burning briskly, while the women burned in the lefthand one the rags, the frame, and the mat. The nephew cut down a small tree so that the coffin could be moved from the mound into the grave. One of the priests took the chicken and, standing at the head of the grave, slowly waved it over the grave several times. He drew a little blood from the neck of the chicken with the sword hanging at his side and let it drip at the head of the grave. Then he threw the chicken so that it fell just beyond the foot of the grave. It was not dead and was carried home afterward. The bearers moved the coffin into the grave and laid the beam from which it had been sus-

*See p. 13.

4-Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

764

pended for carrying across the grave, resting on two benches. On the beam they laid a bag with rice in it, two books, and a compass. The local necromancer, a Chinese, took careful reading of the compass and directed that the coffin be moved slightly so as to rest exactly north and south, the foot to the north. The various things were removed. The necromancer took a sickle, said some words, and made menacing gestures with the sickle at the coffin. He also threw clods on it. The chief mourner knelt on the coffin facing its foot. The men pelted him with clods, laughing loudly as they did so. Altogether the funeral seemed to be a mixture of wailing, mostly prescribed, solemn chanting, and festivity. The priest again stood at the head of the grave and chanted, holding the umbrella over himself as he did so. At times he struck the coffin with his free hand.

Men of the family set the jar of wine with a rice bowl over the opening at the head of the coffin and the basket of rice, bean curd and chicken, the square basket, and the head and feathers of the chicken at the foot. Other men were directed to fill in the grave and make a mound over it, sodded at once. In the mound they stuck the old umbrella, handle down, at about where the head of the coffin would be, and a bamboo pole with leaves and white paper streamers they stuck in the center of the mound. At the foot they set the bamboo sticks which the chief mourner had carried and some lighted incense sticks. All the party then went home. There the family served another feast and various priests chanted as they prepared offerings to the spirits of earth, in the same way as at the ritual of opening the way. Those from a distance then returned to their villages. The tripods were taken down on the day of the burial and in front of several houses they set up a pair of water buffalo horns on a millstone, with a spray of thorn and one of rushes between. After the man had died from the kick of a cow[1] a similar arrangement was set up before his house and remained there several months. The grave of the old lady's father-in-law is the main one beyond the

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

764 buffalo bullfighting meadow. Some of these graves are set exactly north and south, with the foot to the north — or east and west, with the foot to the east.

Another old lady, aged seventy-six, died just after the rice harvest began and in a comparatively poor household. One morning I went to see what the excitement was there and found her body in ordinary clothing lying on a straw bed by the firepit. (When anyone was seriously ill it was their custom to put him or her on a straw pallet on the floor by the fire, or on a bedstead in that room.) I watched them wash the body and dress it. The son washed the head and hands, the son's wife and another daughter-in-law the rest of the body. Then these two women put on the body her new trousers, the pleated skirt, five blouses, of which the outer one was of orange silk with yellow silk sleeves and band about the neck and down the front, a front apron, three overpieces tacked together, and a belt (see fig. 18, *f*). The blouses were folded surplice toward the left, instead of toward the right, as usual. The turban included the embroidered scarf and was put on very carefully. One daughter-in-law made stockings of white cloth for her. Later men's shoes were added. She wore earrings, two bracelets, and three neck loops of silver.

The designs on overpiece, apron, and turban were all different from those used by the Cowrie Shell Miao women when I was in the village. In design and fineness of work the overpiece resembled that worn by the women of another group of Miao in the *hsien* who called themselves Lao Hei Miao. On the apron the design was rows of birds with wings outspread, birds with wings folded, but as if rising, and a sort of animal, all in white. On the scarf appeared the same birds with medallions, not in close rows as now, but spaced. The design of the front medallion on the overpiece was like that I saw being made, but of the back one a square within a square, the points of the inner one to the middle of the sides of the outer one. The outer strip over the shoulder had a figure down the center; the parts of the figure on the inner strip made a complete cross, instead of being four little converging lines. There were several strips with dog tooth design on them instead of a

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?;1947 AE5 Miao AE5

•764 zigzag. The cross stitch designs were very coarse. Those I saw being made were exceedingly fine. The belt was of the same design, but only half as wide. The colors in the overpiece were soft and beautiful, showing that good dyes had been used in the fine thread. That I saw used faded in a very short time.

After she was dressed the son and daughter-in-law laid her on a mat on the other side of the fire, with a pillow of bundles of straw under her head. The coffin, meanwhile, was set in the main room of the house opposite. The body was carried over by four men, while two others held the mat over it. The men washed their hands after carrying the body over and laying it on the reversed coffin lid. The oldest women of the village, together with several other women — the two daughters-in-law, a granddaughter, and a daughter — ten in all, knelt on either side of the coffin and sang the lament. A piece of white paper was put over the face of the corpse. A bundle of tobacco and two cloths were tucked in, as if suspended from the belt. That evening and the next day women came from other villages. One of the principal ones was her daughter. As they entered the village from the wood they began the lament and continued to sing as they knelt by the coffin.

This time the ceremonies of "opening the way," providing food for the soul's journey and encoffining were held the first part of the night, instead of in the afternoon as in the other case, and the drum and *lu sheng* were played for the remainder of the night. There was no bone above the drum in the side room; instead the drum was sometimes struck on the edge. The chief priest this time was the younger man who had burned spirit money at the foot of the coffin for his aunt. The woman's son and nephew knelt and burned the spirit money this time. First a priest beat the drum as the other priest who was to chant took one of the cloths from the woman's belt, wrung it out of the water in a small tub which the daughter-in-law held, and lightly "washed" all her body and clothing. He then tucked the wet cloth back into her belt. Firecrackers were set off outside.

During the chanting a man fashioned straw into a large square and put it down into a

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

water bucket, which he then set in the loft. The priest stunned the chicken by beating its beak with the piece of bamboo he held in his right hand before he killed it. The other priest rolled the drum at this time, and all the women present, more than twenty of them, sang the lament. The daughter-in-law with whom she had lived continued after the others and until she was forced to stop by the other daughter-in-law and led from the room. As a man measured rice from a tray into the cooking vessel, he counted about thirty scoops and then dumped in the rest. The first of the two priests who dripped wine divided the pieces of bamboo to put across the steamer and both threw them on the table as if casting lots. The chief priest told me afterward that the refrain of the chant for "opening the way" — *Tou tseng ou* — meant the destination of the spirit, the "level land of Heaven," in which other Miao groups also believe. The body was also put into the coffin that night and the drum and *lu sheng* were played until dawn. I must confess that, believing the encoffining would not take place until the next day, I went home too soon.

When I got there the next day I saw white paper with inscriptions on it pasted up over the doorways and a white cross of paper on either side of the door frame of each house. A millstone was set on a wooden frame near the house in which the body lay, but without either water buffalo horns or rushes on it. The table was set over the foot of the coffin and on it were placed the red tablet with its inscription, various dishes of food, and the measure of rice with lighted incense sticks in it. Her maiden name was Wu. In front of most of the houses of the village was set the tripod with a bamboo scoop on top. Each contained a bowl of rice, chopsticks, bowls of vegetable, mostly soy beans, and various twigs tied with long grass. In one case there was a dry twig, in one a vine, not the thorn alone, as before. That night young men played the drum and *lu sheng* and the girls danced, but not as sedately as before. One man from another village was especially lively and kept teasing the girls.

[a] Prayer paper.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

At daylight the next morning I heard the priest chanting. A little later the chanting was accompanied by the drum. When I got up I noticed that the table and the articles on it, the rice sheaves, and the coffin had been taken outside. The son's wife was lamenting beside it. Later that morning the burial took place. The son, wearing a peaked white paper cap and holding the prayer sticks, went first through the wood with the gravediggers. Then the procession, led by four women relatives, was formed. Two of them carried the same objects as in the other case. They were followed by the bearers with the coffin, and several villagers with many children. The procession went out of the village by the path to the south and to the grave site in fields belonging to the family, at the foot of the hills to the west. One of the men carried a bundle of faggots, one woman a mat and some comfortable padding, one clothing and an old umbrella. The women wailed as they walked. The men set off firecrackers and shouted. Two sticks with prayer streamers on them, exactly like the *gohei*[8] I saw in Japan, had been set in the fields on either side of the path into the graves.

At the grave, which was in a row with several others, the men built three fires. The one at the right of the grave, facing out from the hill, they kept burning fiercely. In the one in the grave they burned spirit money before the coffin was set in. The third was to the left of the grave. In it the women burned the padding and rags. After the bearers put the coffin into the grave the priest, wearing the yellow robe and holding an umbrella over himself, squatted at the head of the grave. The refrain of his chant was "*Ha ma loui*," meaning "Don't come back!" He also slapped the coffin several times. The daughter and some children threw clods on the coffin and into the hole, which the men then filled in. They sodded the mound and stuck the umbrella into it. The mat was carried home.

A good meal was served at breakfast time, before the burial. At noon there was an ordinary one for the women and a better one, including chicken, for the men. Supper was

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

764 a special meal, with fresh bean curd as the chief dish. The wife of the second nephew in our family was in charge of preparation of this meal. The old man of our family attended both meals. I believe the woman who died was a near relative of his first wife. All that day first one priest and then another chanted, with or without drum accompaniment, casting the bamboo pieces each time. Chanters and drummer all wore the yellow robe, and the chanters a fancy head scarf. One of the chanters dripped liquor from a boiled green vegetable, one bits of green vegetable on a heap of cooked rice on a paddle on a chopping board, one bits of chicken giblets on this. The paddle was set on the shelf below the inscription to the house god. I was told that this was an offering to the Earth God, or perhaps to the spirits which stay near the earth. They believed, as do the Chinese, in two spirits for each person, the *hun* which they directed to follow the chicken to heaven, and the *kuei*, which stayed on or beneath the earth. All that day, also, a group of men gambled with Chinese dominoes around a table in the court outside the house.

164 **Illness and the Most Prevalent Diseases.** The most prevalent diseases were those of the skin — boils, eczema, ringworm, infection from scratched insect bites; intestinal disease due to parasites; conjunctivitis and trachoma; malaria; colds and coughs. In the summer there was a great deal of dysentery. Many had pyorrhea and bad teeth. Several times I saw a woman of the village pull another woman's tooth, which came out very easily. 757 I also saw them wash their eyes with an infusion of leaves after which another woman picked at the eyelids with a needle. They had some herb remedies for such troubles as dysentery and made a black salve for sores and burns.

757 I took with me the specifics for the troubles 123 mentioned and these, which a doctor at the Red Cross headquarters in Kweiyang considered it safe for a novice to prescribe for, were the only ailments I would consent to treat. I had many calls for these medicines. Always when I went about the village I found it wise to carry them with me; if not, I invariably had to go back for some one of them. However, they did not wholly trust them.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

775 people, when they die go to heaven, but that very wicked people are born again on earth in a very wretched condition. We doubt if they attach the same idea of superlative bliss to the place where the dead go as is generally associated with heaven, but we must think of it as heaven because they call it so, and speak of it as being above the sky. The ancient Chinese seem to have had no knowledge of a purgatory or hell. In the Classical Books the good kings who died are mentioned as being in heaven with their loyal ministers, but nothing is said of bad kings and bad ministers who died, or of the common people. What the Chinese now say of hell or purgatory they learned from the Buddhists, and if any Miao now talk of hell, they have probably learnt it from the Chinese.

764 Of course, beliefs and practices vary among the different tribes, and their funeral ceremonies and rites concerning the dead are not all just the same. Among the Heh Miao when a man dies they plait a mat of bamboo, six feet by two feet, upon which they lay the corpse. In dressing the dead they do not fasten the clothes in the usual way on the right side, but lay them loose on the left side. Next they invite an exorcist to drive away any evil influences that might injure the living or the dead, and to choose

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

764 •

a day for the interment. To drive away all evil influences, he kills an ox, pig, sheep, fowl, or duck. If the deceased is a man, he kills a male animal; if a woman, a female one. The animal and any other victim used is subsequently eaten. All the relations of the family are notified, who come to console and make presents, mostly of calico, though some may give satin to cover the corpse. Sometimes the relations give the animals used in sacrifice, and sometimes money to assist in the expenses.

A suitable day having been chosen for the burial, before beginning to dig the grave, they make a hole in the middle of the plot, and having burned a small piece of flesh, they put it in the hole. This sod with the burnt meat is then cut out and placed on one side, to be finally put on the top of the grave. When the grave, which is not very deep, is dug, the empty coffin is placed in it. On the bottom of the coffin they spread five, seven, or nine layers of paper. Why this is done no one seems to know.

Before the body is carried out, the exorcist "calls the road" or "opens the road." The idea is that the soul of the deceased is going on a long journey, and the exorcist tells him, or her, the route. He says: "You will see the Centipede Hill; don't be afraid (there are lots of

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

764 centipedes on it). When you come to the Snow Mountain, don't fear the cold. When you come to the door of heaven, an old man guards it who will not let you in. Tell him who you are and all about yourself, and he will allow you to enter." On entering heaven the deceased may meet father or mother, or some other relation, and live with them. If he does get into heaven he will be happy, but if he fails to enter he will have to be reborn and suffer on earth. When the exorcist has finished his directions, he wrings the neck of a fowl, and this fowl in the other world will lead the soul to the door of heaven.

The body is carried out on the bamboo mat or frame and laid in the coffin. A son of the deceased, or a younger member of the family, bewails the dead, and calls out the name or relationship three times. When the corpse is encoffined, the exorcist takes a short bamboo tube in which is some water, and splits it on the coffin, saying, "On which side this water flows, drink water on that side." This means that, on the journey to heaven, when the deceased is thirsty he is to drink water on that side of the road. Next the exorcist takes some blades of "cutting grass" and chops them in pieces, saying, "If your brother, or sister, or other

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

relative follows you, you must send them back." 764
He then throws the chopper and the cut grass from the head of the grave past the foot of it. This is done to prevent any other of the family dying and following the deceased. Then the son with a mattock begins to fill in the grave; the others assist till the grave is filled in, and the earth piled over it.

When returning home, a tub or basin of water is placed on the road at the entrance of the village, in which all who have assisted at the burial wash their hands. The last person to wash smashes the tub or basin. On returning to the house they all eat a meal. On the third day after the funeral some of the family rise at cock-crow, and proceeding to the grave call upon the deceased to return. They pick up small stones and, throwing them at the grave, say, "Who is keeping our father? let him come back." In crossing a stream they lay a bamboo pole across it, and say that the spirit may pass over that. When daylight comes they burn incense at the grave and offer a fowl or duck and some whisky. The fowl or duck is killed at the grave, and the whisky poured out on the grave. On their return home they place the shoes of the departed near some water in a basin, with a towel, and call upon him to come and

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

764 wash his face. They also offer some cooked fowl, whisky, and rice to the deceased. After these ceremonies some rice is given to all the guests, who may eat it at once or take it home with them.

763 The Hua Miao, when a man or woman is about to die, send for the exorcist, who first assures himself that the patient is actually dying and not merely fainting. When it appears that the sick person is really dying, the exorcist relates the story of Gloe-an and Ngo-a, the first man and woman, and the making of heaven and earth, so that the moribund may know his way about after death. The exorcist then says: "I shall now show you the way to heaven. On the road there are many creeping things, so you must wear a pair of hemp sandals lest they bite your feet. When you get half-way up, you will see tigers with their mouths wide open waiting to devour you. Carry some hemp on your back, and when a tiger attempts to bite you, let him bite the hemp, and make your escape. When you are half-way up, the sun shines with a burning heat; take this piece of calico and cover your eyes—you will find it in your breast pocket.

"When you arrive at the gate of heaven, the door-keeper may refuse to let you in, and you

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

must beseech him to let you pass. If he says, 763
'If I open the gate will you transform yourself and be my ox?' you must answer, 'No! I will not.' If he says, 'Will you be my horse?' you must say, 'No! I will not.' Then say to him, 'I will transform myself and be your servant.' When you say this, he will open the door, and you must quickly pass in and go on. After walking for some time you will come to a place where there are three roads; the one to the right is for Chinese, the one to the left for I-chia, and the one in the middle is the Hua Miao road, which all your forefathers have taken. If some one finely dressed comes to show you the way, it is some one come to deceive you, and not one of your ancestors. If a person wearing coarse clothes comes to lead you, follow him, he is one of your forefathers. If some one with a bad heart asks, 'Who brought you here?' you must say, 'One tall and stout.' If they ask you, 'Can you find him?' you must say, 'You cannot overtake him, his eyes are as big as a cup and his ears as big as a fan.' And now," the exorcist concludes, "I have shown you the way to your ancestors and the demons (or spirits), and you must remain there for ever."

Subsequently, at different periods, the Miao 764 782
offer sacrifices to their ancestors. Probably all

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

764 the oxen killed among them are killed as offerings to their ancestors or to demons. We were never able to buy beef among the Heh Miao, though they killed oxen two or three times a month, because they were all used as offerings to the dead or to demons, and the Miao Christians did not think it right to eat such beef.

782 The Ya-ch'io Miao sacrifice to Heaven and Earth once a year. They offer an ox to Heaven and a pig to Earth. They have a big sacrifice once in thirteen years, when they sacrifice buffaloes to Heaven. On this occasion every family is expected to kill a buffalo, so sometimes several tens of buffaloes are killed in one village. They also sacrifice to their ancestors. These offerings and sacrifices to ancestors are not made from love, we imagine, so much as fear. They think if they do not offer these sacrifices, the spirits of their ancestors will come and bring calamities upon them.

584 Marriage among the Miao is arranged much the same as among the Chinese, by a match-maker or go-between; but, unlike the Chinese, the match-maker mostly comes upon the scene after the young people have shown a decided preference for one another. The young men and maidens do much of their courting quite openly at the musical festivals, and at the village fairs.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

764

After a parent dies, if he urinates it is unlucky and the children will suffer. If he has a bowel movement, the descendants will prosper and the feces must be carefully wrapped up and put away. Another custom is that the finger and toe nails must be carefully cut off and put away. Later, when the parent cannot be seen, the finger and toe nails can be looked at and this helps the descendants to remember the deceased. Still another custom is that the children must take a piece of white cloth and wash his face, then dry the cloth and burn it. When it is burning, if the shadows or shapes in the flames resemble a Chinese character, then the soul will be reborn as a male. If it is like a flower, the soul will be reborn as a female. The water that has been used to wash the face of the dead is divided among the children and drunk by them. Or the hands and the feet of the corpse may be washed and the water drunk by the children. Drinking this water is considered a very filial act and probably spreads many diseases.

Funeral ceremonies continue for two or three days in the summer time and sometimes for six or seven days if they occur in winter. The ceremonial drum, called in Chinese *kuei ku* 鬼鼓 or demon drum, is used much of the time, accompanied by the *liu shêng*. This is varied by the singing of appropriate songs by individuals and the playing of the jointed bugles, called *sa la tzŭ* accompanied by the beating of brass gongs.

When a person has just died, somebody plays the *liu shêng* and dances for a time. Then the officiating priest (generally there are in each family one or two who are efficient in conducting funeral or memorial ceremonies), who is called by the Ch'uan Miao *chi shih* 祭司 or priest in Chinese and mo in their own language, begins. The dead person has been carried in the coffin into the main room. The priest brings with him, or it is provided by others, a bow but no arrows. He cuts down a bamboo and makes of it another bow. Then he cuts down a peach branch and makes of it three or six arrows. He carries the bow he brought with him on his shoulder and a sword hangs from his belt. He takes the new bow and the arrows in his hands and a cock under his armpit. In his hands he also holds two pieces of bamboo which he uses in divination or conversation with the dead.

Three times the priest takes the dead person by the hand, saying each time, "I am helping you arise." Then, since the deceased does not arise, he takes the two pieces of bamboo and places them on the body of the corpse. Then he says, "I called you three times and I took hold of your hand three times and you would not get up. Now I will take the cock to lead you and will send a bow and an arrow to accompany you. If you hear another cock crow and yours replies, then that

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

764 person is your ancestor. If your cock does not reply, that is not your ancestor and you must not go. When you meet your ancestors, report that you were born a certain place at a certain time, lived in such and such places and died at a certain place. Then the ancestors will take you to Ntsə's level country and you will meet your male and female ancestors for three generations." Then the priest,[14] chokes the cock to death and the soul of the cock leads the soul of the dead to heaven. The g'a gei then takes a sharp bamboo stick about two and a half feet long, thrusts it through the cock just below the wings and leans the stick and the cock against the coffin.

Some time after this there is a ceremonial procession. In front is a man whirling a stick or baton. Then follow two men blowing water-buffalo horns, then two carrying green bamboo twigs and finally two men carrying guns. During the entire ceremony the ceremonial drum is beaten inside the house, the two men play the *liu shêng* and dance, the two buffalo horns are blown and the man in front whirls his baton.

The procession comes out of a side door, then through the front door enters the living-room, where the participants march around in a circle for some time. Sometimes the procession marches around the house, then around a square table in the front yard to one corner of which has been tied a green bamboo twig about eight feet high. At other times, they merely march around in the yard, then march around the table. Then they sit down at the table and drink the sweet wine that has been poured out for them in small bowls. The bamboo twigs are symbolic of the fact that in ancient times the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao lived in forests. The horns were formerly used to frighten away the tigers and wolves which abounded and are now continued by way of commemoration. The *liu shêng* is used for the good music and good appearance and the guns are added to symbolize the frightening away of wild animals. The Ch'uan Miao say that in ancient times such horns were actually blown during funeral ceremonies to frighten away the wild beasts that lurked about and that out of this custom the ceremony has developed and become more and more symbolic.

764 782 After this an animal is sacrificed. It is generally a bull but is sometimes a male water-buffalo. It may be a pig, a

14. The priest is now called a g'a gei or one who opens the way. g'a means "open" and gei means "road" or "way". The priest is called a g'a gei only when he is performing this part of the funeral ceremony, opening the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades. It is feared that the saying of this word may cause people to die so that the priest will have to open the way of their souls to the level land of Ntsə.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

sheep or a chicken, but it may not be a duck. The animal is led outside the front door. The rope which is tied to the nose of the bull is passed through the door, over the drum which is hung up inside near the coffin, up to the coffin, and put into the hand of the deceased. Then the priest says, "Your descendants are giving you this cow. Take it to Ntsə's level place. There visit your ancestors for three generations." Or he may say, "This is what your children have given to you. Take it to Ntsə's level country where you will meet your ancestors, and use it." This is followed by weeping on the part of the mourners. Then the priest pours out a bowl of wine for the *liu shêng* player and requests him to play and he pours out another bowl for the one who is to kill the bull and requests him to kill the animal. After drinking the wine the person takes a large knife or a hatchet or an axe and strikes the bull with the b[illegible] of it until the bull falls down stunned. Then the throa[illegible] of the animal is cut and the blood caught in a large dipp[illegible] from which it is dipped out into a large bucket. The skin of the animal is taken off and the animal is cut up according to a regular custom. The oldest custom was apparently to cut it up into thirty-six pieces but now it is sometimes cut up into nine pieces. A pig, a goat or a chicken is cut up into nine pieces. The head, the feet, the tail, the intestines, the stomach, the skin, the lungs and the heart are not counted. The four legs count as four parts, the liver as one part, and the remainder of the body is divided up into four parts, making a total of nine parts.

The meat is boiled, but not cooked through, and is offered up to the ancestors. Sometimes only a small piece is cut off each of the nine parts, boiled for a short while and then offered to the ancestors in nine small bowls, while wine and rice are also offered and incense and candles burnt. Then all the meat is well boiled and the friends and relatives who are present enjoy a feast. But the sons and daughters of the deceased do not eat any of this meat at this time.

Generally the next night after the bull is killed, there is a ceremony of dancing and pushing. It is performed by the strongest young men. It takes place around the ceremonial drum and in front of the coffin, to the accompaniment of the drum and the *liu shêng*. So much strength is used that sometimes furniture is smashed, one or more of the performers pushed down and the walls of the living-room broken. Legend says that this ceremony began in a family where the parent died during the summer time. He was not buried promptly and in a few days numerous maggots crawled out of the coffin and onto the floor. The mourners performed this pushing dance and while doing so trampled the maggots to death.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

764 At midnight, on the last night before the burial, or after midnight, the man in charge of the ceremonies and the feast makes a report. He states the cause of the death, tells how much clothing (giving the number of each kind of garment) the descendants have prepared for the dead and how much meat, wine, rice, etc. has been consumed at the feast. He also reports, if the deceased is a male and the head of the family, how many fields, houses, beds, chairs, horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, chicken, etc. and how much money the deceased has left for the children and what things are to be inherited by each child. Generally, but not always, the family divides at this time and each son becomes the head of a family.

[782] Some of the meat of the sacrificed animal is placed on the table at this time and the near blood relatives of the deceased who are not descendants eat it. The descendants have been kneeling while the things mentioned above have been anounced. They are now invited to rise. Wine is poured out for the relatives to drink. The descendants do not drink but continue weeping.

764 787 Next morning, very early, the priest throws the two pieces of bamboo used for divining unto the floor. If unfavorable, the dead is regarded as unsatisfied and then they enquire what the trouble is. The possessions may be divided wrongly, the place of burial may not be good, etc. Readjustments are made and the old relatives exhort the deceased to be contented. This is done until the cast is favorable. Then the coffin is carried out and the burial takes place.

764 Before the coffin is carried out, the priest puts a stool over the doorstill. Then three broken bowls are placed on the stool and burning wood or coal or charcoal is placed in the bowls. Sometimes a dry stick of wood is set on fire and used to light the way for the soul. Then the priest shoots three arrows into the house and three outside the house, standing across the doorsill as he shoots. While he is shooting the coffin is lifted up and carried out. The priest says, "I am shooting illness, pain, pestilence, quarrels, and evil things but I am not shooting living beings, domestic animals, or corn or beans. I am shooting quarrels and the places where the sun and the moon set." When he has finished speaking, he kicks over the stool. Some throw the arrows away outside the house and others carry them to the grave and stick them up on the grave to protect it.

While the corpse is being carried out the sons and daughters take the straw off the bed where the dead person slept and burn it behind the coffin to indicated that the illness has gone along to the grave with the dead. If the wind blows the smoke back into the house, people say that the illness has not yet departed and that others in the family may die.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

754 An enemy who wishes to injure the descendants of a person who is being buried secretly throws tiny pieces of iron or wood onto the corpse as it lies in the coffin or into the coffin beside the corpse. If these are not removed, the descendants will suffer great injury, so just before the burial a careful search is made and all such things are carefully removed from the coffin.

787 Burials must be on days controlled by snakes or rabbits.

766 Because it is believed that the spirits of children, after death, roll hail in their hands and throw it down, making hailstorms, they tie a red cloth around the hand of a dead child before it is buried so as to prevent the child from doing such things.

787 Formerly the Ch'uan Miao did not take note of the *yin yang* 陰陽 and *fêng shui* 風水 when arranging their graves. Now
• 764 they use these principles, which they have learned from the Chinese. Chinese *fêng shui* geomancers are sometimes called in to determine the place and direction of the grave, for they are considered more efficient than those of the Ch'uan Miao. Formerly the graves were parallel to the mountains but now, like those of the Chinese, they are at right angles.

765 For two or three nights after the burial fire is taken to the grave and on the next three mornings afterward food is taken to the grave for the newly-buried ancestor to eat.

In making the fire, twelve bamboo sticks are stuck into the ground on the road or path and six bunches of grass, called *yin pao* 陰包 are placed between the sticks. The grass is burnt but not the sticks.

On the first morning, three bamboo cups are filled with rice and some meat is wrapped up in a leaf. These are taken to the grave and left there. For the second meal, on the second day, these things are taken half-way to the grave and left on the road uncovered. On the first and second days the dead person is merely invited to eat. On the third day the food is placed on the grave and covered with thorns or twigs of bamboo and the food is left on the grave.

[775] To understand the Ch'uan Miao memorial customs, it must be borne in mind that the Ch'uan Miao family includes not only the living but the souls of the departed ancestors for at least three generations; also that the person in Hades needs the same things that he does in this world. He must have food, clothing, money and other things, and he will find cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens useful. These must be provided by the living descendants and the dead ancestors reciprocate by protecting the living descendants and helping them to prosper. Offerings or sacrifices are simply food, money, clothing, drink, etc. given to the deceased ancestors to eat, drink, wear, and use, with the expectation that the ancestors will help the

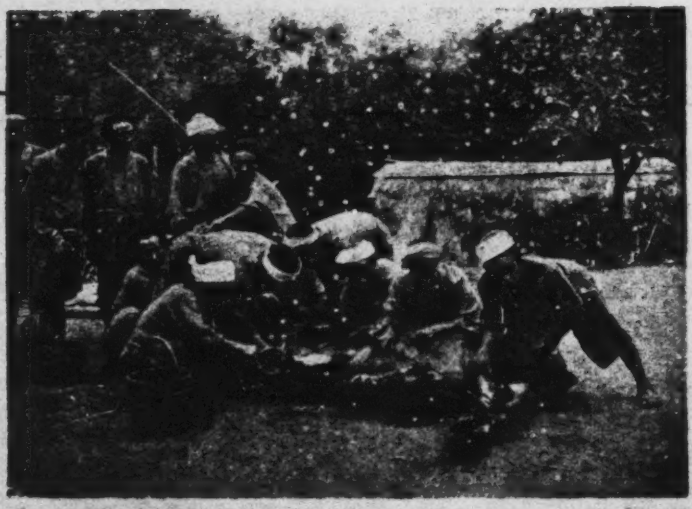
8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

764

Part of a Ch'uan Miao funeral ceremony. The bamboo twig is symbolic of ancient times when their ancestors lived in dense forests in which there were many wild animals.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

764
782



Ch'uan Miao men skinning the sacrificial animal to be offered to the deceased and then eaten as a part of a funeral ceremony.

Photo by D. C. Graham.

[facing p. 62]

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937. AE5 Miao AE5

764

ERRATA

Page 109 last line should read:—ancestors for three generations. xʌu^{5} lo^{2} xʌu^{3} (Drink some).

[facing P. 109]

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

765

The manager chosen by the guests says, "When we come we will tread on the green grass. When we go back we will tread on tall reeds. We have come to be good friends. We are not saying that our gifts are sufficient to secure good will. It is finished. Please sit down. A, please the able ones of the family who can play the *liu shêng* and beat the drum for the dead ancestor to use when he goes and stays near his female and male ancestors for three generations and in Ntsə's flat ground."

D. MEMORIAL AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE CH'UAN MIAO.

THESE WERE SECURED FROM MR. HSIUNG CHÊNG TS'AI 熊正才, NOW DECEASED, OF WANG WU CHAI, WHO WAS OVER SIXTY YEARS OLD. HE WAS A SIMPLE FARMER WHO WAS SATURATED WITH THE CUSTOMS AND IDEALS OF HIS PEOPLE AND WAS SAID TO KNOW OVER A THOUSAND FOLK-SONGS.

I. THE G'A GEI OPENS THE WAY FOR THE DEPARTED SOUL TO ITS FUTURE ABODE

764

In the g'a gei's hands he carries a rooster. On his back he carries a bow. At his side he wears a beheading knife.

He stands beside the dead person's coffin on the west. In his hand he holds a pair of divining sticks (made of two halves of a bamboo sprout). He then repeats the following formulae.

Three times he calls out the name of the dead person saying, "Arise, arise, arise." As he calls he takes hold of the dead person's hand and pulls as though to lift the dead person up. Then he says:—

A. "I have called you three times and you are unable to reply. I pulled three times but you are unable to rise. You cannot live as a man and so you must live as a demon. Your head is bent down toward ʒaɔ nTo$^{\cdot 2}$ na$^{\cdot 6}$ Ti$^{\cdot 5}$ (soul demon sky big hand earth). You wear the sky like a hat above your head and your head leads towards glaɔ To$^{\cdot}$ na$^{\cdot}$ntgaɔ (the land of dead souls or demons). I will give you nine cups of wine nine times to drink. If you cannot drink it all do not give it to demons that cause sickness for them to drink. If you cannot drink it give it to the dead demons (demons of dead persons to drink. You give it to your ancestors for three generations. xAu^{8} lo$^{\cdot 2}$ xA $^{\cdot}$ɜn (Drink some)."

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

764

B. "When the demons have drunk, I will lead on the road to heaven. I will offer some meat for you to eat. If you cannot eat it all you must not give it to the demons of sickness or to demons that cause death. You must give it to your ancestors for three generations.

xʌu^{5} lo^{2} xʌu^{5}. When you have finished eating you must go and stick to the corner of your grandmother's clothes. When you have finished eating, you go and stick to the bottom of grandfather's felt rug."

Then he repeats the following words:—

So, so. If I roam over all the world it stirs my mind. I will go unto the road of ɔgʌu^{2} go^{6}. Speaking of the earth, I have gone all over the sky. I went to ga ʐɛ^{2} k'o^{6}s residence. When ɔgʌu ga came at first, she got a flat ground. When ga ʐɛ k'o first came she got a flat in the sky.

I will lead you to ɔgʌu ga's dwelling. I will also lead you to ga ʐɛ k'o's dwelling (medicine old man heal). At that time your grandmother and grandfather will also go to ɔgʌu ga's dwelling. Then they will also go before you to ga ʐɛ k'o's dwelling. When you go, the rooster will go before you. The bamboo divining roots will interpret your words. When your rooster crows and the roosters of your grandmother and your grandfather reply, those are your grandmother and grandfather. If your rooster crows and no rooster answers, those are not your grandparents.

C. I will lead you to your grandparents' dwelling. Your grandparents have a well. When you arrive there, the water is fragrant, you must drink three handfuls, for at that time (when they died) your grandmother and your grandfather also drank this water.

D. Now I will lead you to Ntɛə's land in heaven to the dancing altar. You must go past in front of ʐwaɔ ʐwei'ɛ face. By the side of the road he opens his mouth wide. There is also tso ʐwei (tiger stone) who is lying beside the road. These two want to block the road. At that time you can take a handful of firehemp (not nettles) and tear it to pieces and cover the dragon's lips. You also take some large hemp and cover up the tiger's mouth and after that you can go by (unharmed).

E. Now I will escort you up to the sky (heaven). When you have gone up the ladder to the sky, ascend to the first palace, the second palace, the third palace, the fourth palace, the fifth palace, the sixth palace, the seventh palace, the eighth palace, the ninth palace, the tenth palace, the eleventh palace and the twelfth palace. When you have reached the twelfth pavilion, you will have reached the house in the sky (heaven).

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

764

F. Now I will lead you to see the flower-altar. This flower-altar has many people (worshippers). There is a drum altar which is also wonderful. Ah, look. On this road there are very many straw sandal insects, ji. These straw sandal insects are very numerous on this road. Therefore you quickly make bamboo into sandals and wear them.

You also take shoes made of big hemp and put them on, then you go along stepping on the insects, and step on them as you go until you have trod them to death.

G. I will lead you up onto Ntsɔ's heaven. You can look at the flowery altar and you can turn around and listen to the cuckoo calling. You also turn around and listen to the cicada singing. When you hear the cuckoo, that is the sound of your descendants below playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 and beating the drums. There is also the cicada singing and that is the weeping of your descendants.

H. Now I am going to lead you to finish dancing at the flowery altar and I will also lead you so you can be born again (as a man) on earth. We will go down the sky ladder. We will descend one pavilion, two pavilions, three pavilions, four pavilions, five pavilions, six pavilions, seven pavilions, eight pavilions, nine pavilions, ten pavilions, eleven pavilions, twelve pavilions. When we have gone past the twelfth pavilion. then we will have arrived on earth. Then you will escape from the womb and turn around on the wheel of life. (This disposes with one soul).

I. Now I will lead you to the grave (one soul). You will have a place with your father and father-in-law. That is the grave hill. You can live with them. (This disposes of a soul in the grave.)

J. Your parents-in-law will ask, "Who brought you here." You must not say that I brought you here. You may say that you came alone.

K. I will take you to the grave to be buried peacefully. You wear bamboo or hemp shoes. I will wear shoes made of vines. I will escort you to your grave and you must stay there forever, (all your life). You must send me back to life (as though his soul escorted the dead and should be sent back and not detained by the dead person's soul.) You wear shoes made of great hemp. I will wear shoes made of the bark of the dogwood tree. I will escort you into the tomb. You must escort me back to my home.

(At this time the rooster is choked to death and then a sharpened bamboo is stuck through the rooster, then it is stuck up in the ground with rooster on it or leaned against the coffin. Divining is done by means of two halves of a joint of bamboo on which there have been leaves.)

9: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

764 After a while, an animal is sacrificed and the ceremony proceeds as on the following pages. There are variations. Some use the bow and arrow, others do not.

II. SACRIFICING AN ANIMAL

He calls the dead person three times by name. This time he does not take hold of the dead person's hand.

"Now I call you but you do not reply. I cry to you but you do not awake. Your descendants are giving you an animal to take with you to visit your ancestors for three generations (includes ancestors by marriage.) You take one with you and send back thousands of hundreds (to your descendants.)"

When he has said this, he takes a pair of bamboo divining sticks and gives the animal to the dead person. (When he throws down the divining sticks it is regarded as having given the animal to the dead person.) After that the priest (the g'a gei) pours out three cups of wine then asks the man who is to kill the animal to come and kill it. Then the g'a gei says; "Please take this animal and quickly give it to the dead person to take to Ntsə's level land to see his ancestors for three generations." After this he gives the wine to the person who is to kill the animal; he drinks it and then kills the animal. Then the g'a gei pours out a cup of wine for the man who plays the *liu shêng* and one for the man who beats the drum. He gives the wine to them and says, "I request you to play three roads of *liu shêng* for the dead person. (As much as can be played while going over the road three times) so the dead person can go to Ntsə's land and see his departed ancestors for three generations.

III. WORSHIPPING THE SKY DEMON

776 782 First he takes a rope and ties an old sow securely. He takes a wooden water-dipper or a small bamboo cup and beats it as a drum. He has a number of children to play on bamboo flutes and they are spoken of as playing on the *liu shêng*. The priest carries a big bamboo container or basket (round and flat) in his hands in which he has placed corn, rice and beans. Then the priest speaks as he shakes about the bamboo container and its contents. This is to purify the house (to drive out the evil or unclean demons.)

The feet of the sow are bound so as to point up toward the sky so that she squeals loudly. The priest repeats his formulae. He has a companion come near him and they hold conversation. He says,

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's husband. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it often results in a happy marriage.

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurting hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high.

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper.

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the ancient level land of Ntzī, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise.

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat.

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial

[10 cont.]

585 a horse saddle to gain entrance through the gate. After the send-off party leaves, the bride's family immediately slaughters a pig or two, to carry to the groom's house as a send-off gift. That day friends and relatives float in like clouds to offer congratulations. The groom's family puts rice straw on the floor of the cow stall and spreads feasts to entertain the guests. Day or night they would not stop feasting until drunk. That night no one sleeps. The bride does not share the groom's room. The guests from the bride's family and the friends of the groom's family join in a song fest. The following day or the third day the bride returns home with her companions, and the host dispenses cash presents to all the members of the bridal party. The other guests stay on to partake of the farewell feast. After her return the bride stays with her parents for a month or fortnight, 591 and has to be welcomed back to her new home by her husband. But the girl's family would keep the son-in-law as a house guest for several days before sending the young couple away. After a short stay the bride goes back again to live with her mother, and only on New Year, at festivals and harvest times, would she accompany her husband home to stay for a few days as a guest of his family. It is only after the children are born that she lives permanently with him. One month after the birth of the first 852 child there would be a feast, and the wife's family [11] would 431 send along some baby clothes and, in case of a wealthy family, also cows and pigs. Those who have received cash gifts from the husband's family at the wedding would now give in return baby's bedding and clothing as well as chicken and duck eggs. Friends and relatives would each carry with him a sheng [a [804] measure equivalent to 31.6 cubic inches] of rice and a jug of wine to partake in a feast provided by the host, who would slaughter cattle or buy pork and beef from the market for the occasion.

2) Funeral. The funeral rituals of the various Miao-I 764 groups in Kweichow are more or less similar. Due to their [755] belief in spirits, they resort to wizardry for the expulsion of evil spirits in case of sickness, but they would never take any medicine with the result that nine out of ten cases of serious sickness end in death. A man who dies of old age is given funeral rites at

[11 cont.]

764 home, his body lying across the hall. When a Ch'ing Miao dies his body is wrapped up in a straw mat and hung up with a rope on a beam in the hall. For funerals performed outside the house, they build a straw hut and place the body inside. The kinsmen [292] wear hemp cloth or white cloth on the head in mourning and cry aloud around the body. This is known as "hao-sang" [wailing funeral]. Meanwhile the bereaved family would send messengers to announce the sad news to friends and relatives in distant parts. 764 At night they put up a spirit tablet and invite a wizard priest [kuei-787 shih] to "open the way" by means of a cock and a bamboo stick slit into a magic diagram. The priest settles down in front of the spirit tablet and calls the deceased by the name, informing him of the story of genesis and urging him to start on his journey. He too advises the dead how to overcome dangers and obstacles, how to deal with difficulties, how to recognize cross roads and to ferry across rivers and oceans, and so on until the spirit world is reached. After the ritual of opening the road is 764 over, they slaughter a chicken and a piglet to spur the spirit on 782 his way. On the following day at the time of "k'ai-ch'ang" [commencing the ceremony] (the Chinese call it "k'ai-tiao"), a bull is bludgeoned as a gift to the dead. (Among the He Miao, a bull is bludgeoned as a sacrifice to a man, and a horse as a sacrifice to a woman.) At the time of bludgeoning the crowd wails and cries to the tune of the liu-sheng. The bull is first led around the straw pavilion three times and then handed over to the priest, who calls out the name of the deceased and makes the presentation before the spirit tablet. The animal is then led out to be slaughtered. Relatives and friends who have come to make sacrifices all have with them a sheng of rice, a pot of wine and a basketful of cooked rice, pork and eggs. These are given to the priest one by one, who in turn calls out to the deceased for a formal offering. The bereaved family then cooks the beef and after first offering it to the deceased, passes it around to the guests. That night all keep the funeral vigil, and sing to each other songs of piety in sad words and melancholic tunes to arouse in those who hear them a feeling of sadness.

[11 cont.]

764 [177] On the third day comes "fa-sang" [burial]. In former times the body was wrapped in a straw mat, but now it is laid in a coffin. This is the result of Chinese influence and practiced by those who live near the Chinese. At the time of burial, a small tree of about ten feet long is split in two, its bark peeled off and the two ends tied with ropes. The corpse is then placed on it and carried away on the shoulders. When the procession leaves the house the filial son walks in front, followed by the women mourners, whose long, show laments and plaintive cries are too sad to hear. Arriving at a mountain spot they dig the earth [12] to make a well, the four walls of which are lined with stone slabs. Into the well the coffin is lowered. If the body is wrapped in a straw mat, its two sides are left empty. On the top of the well more stone slabs are laid and then some earth. The tombs are all laid crosswise, hence the expression, "hêng Miao, tao Ch'i-lao [crosswise Miao and upside down Ch'i-lao]. After burial the guests all return to their respective homes.

766 777 [801] The Miao are superstitiously prejudiced against repeat figures in the age of the deceased, such as 22 or 33, believing that these figures would cause the dead to receive extra punishment in the spirit world and at the same time bring bad luck to the family. To overcome this mishap they jack up the coffin in some deep mountain, without letting it touch the earth on the theory that in so doing the spirit of the dead would not be admitted that year to the spirit world. In similar instances the Ch'ing Miao, whose dead is wrapped up in a straw mat, would hang the corpse high up on some lofty cliff in some wild area without letting it touch the earth to avoid damnation.

5. Culture

796 [771] [782] 1) Religion. There is strictly no religion to speak of among the Miao-I in Kweichow. After living in the mountain village, they have come to respect the forest behind it, which they call "hou lung" [back dragon] and once every spring they offer sacrifice to the mountain forest. After the sacrifice they

[23 cont.]
582 with the Chinese who live among them. Many of the Chinese speak the Miao language and are even influenced by the Miao in certain habits and customs, but intermarriages are extremely rare. Actually this is not only true of the Miao and the Chinese, but also of the different Miao groups. For instance at Chou-ch'i in the Lu-shan area there are 4,000 Short-skirt Hê Miao, about 200 to 300 Chinese, and less than 100 Mu-lao Miao. For marriage, these few Mu-lao Miao have to seek contacts in other Mu-lao villages very far away and never for a moment would they think of intermarrying the Short-skirt Hê Miao on the spot.

4. Funeral

764 [777] When a Short-skirt Hê Miao dies his family decides on a lucky day to invite three or four relatives to specially wail aloud for him. The corpse is placed on a temporary scaffold about five feet from the ground on the left side of the hall and covered with sheets of coarse native cloth of about six feet long and two feet wide. The married daughters as a rule each present a sheet. [24] The unmarried daughters at home also collectively present one, though in some rich families everyone gives a sheet. These different colored sheets are used to line the coffin at the time of interment. When the corpse is being moved out of the house, the family members all wear hemp cloth on their heads and weep aloud around the body. At the [202] same time they despatch messengers to announce the bereavement to relatives living far away. In case the deceased is a man, they fire hunting rifles at the gate, or in the case of a woman, firecrackers so that those relatives within earshot may be apprised. The little table in front of the corpse is complete with spirit tablet, incense and candles, four bowls of glutinous rice, twelve cups of wine, a pig's heart and stomach, and other offerings. A priest is engaged to "open the way." He wields a dagger and a bunch of straw, uttering magic words and brandishing, at the same time, the dagger and straw, in an effort to drive away evil spirits that may obstruct the way.

[24 cont.]

●764 All night they beat drums and play liu-sheng (6-reed wind instrument). The following day is the day of mourning when friends and relatives bring along different kinds of gifts as expressions of condolence. Some would bring a basketful of glutinous rice; some, a jug of wine; others, firecrackers, candles, incense and paper money. The host would slaughter a buffalo or a horse to feed the mourners. At the same time he has to kill a male dog so that in the nether world the dog can watch the buffalo or the [775] horse. The four legs of the animal are divided among the married children of the family and close relatives, distant relations being given only other parts of the meat. When there are not many relatives, each can bring home a piece of meat weighing about three or four catties. On the third day the corpse is lowered into the coffin after being clothed in four, six or eight black garments as well as shoes and socks. The number of sheets on which the corpse lies depends upon the number of children of the deceased. In case the deceased is childless, he is wrapped only in one sheet. There are three kinds of coffins: the rich use two coffins, the inner and the outer. Ordinary families use the outer coffin; the poor use the inner coffin, also known as the "fire box." The inner and the outer coffins are finished with black paint, but the "fire box" is made of plain wood. All coffins have their fixed dimensions. The inner coffin is one inch thick, five feet two inches long [sic], one foot and two inches wide at the feet and one foot three inches wide at the head. The outer coffin is one foot eight inches thick at the head, nine inches thick at the feet for the upper board, and eight inches thick for the bottom board, the total length being five feet eight inches, the width at the feet being one foot five inches, and the width at the head, two feet. The Miao have the strongest ob-
[823] jection to the presence of iron or [25] copper in the coffin. At the time of burial the family members have to make a last minute inspection for fear some one might slip into the coffin some metal pieces. They believe that "to bury the dead with iron and copper will cause annihilation to the whole family."

As soon as a corpse is laid in a coffin, the burial takes place. This is called "fu-shan" [supporting the mountain]. The larger

[201 cont.]

534 sizes. All the young men are fond of playing these instruments. It is a first step toward playing the so-na. On the other hand, a trumpeter must first learn how to play the flute or fife. The latter can also produce music with a seducive lilt, not any less licentious than the five-tube bamboo wind instrument.

[202] (e) The so-na. The Miao-I are very fond of playing the so-na, a clarinet type of instrument. One sees young men and cowboys practicing it. This popular instrument resembles the trumpet [la-pa] used in funeral ceremonies. Originally the use of the so-na was limited to funeral and sacrificial functions in the same way that the local Chinese use cymbals, gongs and drums. When the Miao-I have a funeral, people do [764] not sleep at night and the so-na is used to revive the spirit. Furthermore, as the lamentations at a Miao-I funeral are most sad and heart-rending, the so-na is used to drown out the pitiful wails so that they will not be heard outside. But, today, on all festive occasions such as weddings, both the Chinese and the Miao-I play this clarinet type of instrument to lend gaiety to the affairs.

Besides the above instruments there are also brass drums, lutes [p'i-pa], moon harps, two-string violins, wooden leaves and horns, but they are not as popular.

533 (VI) Singing. Singing is very popular among the various Miao-I tribes in An-shun. It is regarded as a necessary requirement in social gatherings, and good singers are admired and applauded by the public. Singing provides a good medium for young men and women to get together. Those who cannot sing will have trouble in solving their marital problems. Therefore, the Miao-I men and women all know the words of the songs by heart since childhood. The structure of the songs is quite different from those sung by the local Chinese, and they sound exotic and peculiar to us. The following are some specimens of the songs sung by the Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Chung-chia; the words are freely translated, but the tunes cannot be reproduced here.

[167 cont.]

684 586 The adulterous wife usually is repudiated and her parents must refund the dowry. The betrayed husband has the right to kill his wife and even her accomplice. This right is almost never exercised.

N. B. — We have said above (paragraph relative to the general 548 778 character of the "Méo" that many "Méo" young women were of rather easy virtue and even examples of prostitution are cited without the slightest dishonor to those engaged in it. All Europeans who have passed through Dongvan or have lived there for a while, are familiar with the famous "sacred wood" located within a few hundred meters of the post (it may be seen in the background of photo 467, Plate 41). This wood, of small extent, is situated between two hills. There are very fine trees, several groups of rather picturesque rocks, and it encloses the ruins of an ancient pagoda.

548 When a European goes for a walk in this wood, one may soon see descending from the neighboring hillsides where they are working, several young "Méo" women coming to offer the stroller their smiles and ... all the rest. It is only just to add, however, that the nymphs of the "sacred wood" of Dongvan do not always belong to the "Méo" group and that they also include young "Lolo" women (of the kind photo 465, Plate 30 shows).

764 [769] The respect and worship of the dead are not as rigorously observed among the "Méo" as in the other groups. The funerals, like the other great events of life — births and marriages — are scarcely more than occasions for drinking and feasting.

The corpse, dressed in his best clothes, is fastened standing upright against one of the walls of the hall of honor, where relatives, neighbors, and friends are gathered together. For three days the feasts and the dances alternate without interruption. The deceased is invited to share in the meals and often small pieces of meat are placed in his mouth. In certain tribes, a dog is killed, which then [825] is fastened to the hand of the deceased by means of a paper ribbon. This dog is charged with guiding the steps of his master on the pathways of the other life.

The site of the grave designated by the priest-sorcerer, the corpse is carried on a stretcher to the place of burial. When a coffin is built, the placing of the body in the bier is done at the last moment, at [168] the edge of the trench, as soon as it is dug. The cortège,

[168 cont.]

764 which includes the relatives and friends, set off firecrackers and rifle shots. (The "Méo" women do not participate in the funeral ceremonies.) After the body has been placed in the grave, the trench is completely filled in, and above it is built a little mound, often covered with flat stones on which the stretcher is broken that served to carry the deceased. The cortège then returns to the house of death, where the feasts are resumed until the provisions prepared have been exhausted.

No further attention is paid to the dead. In the region of Pha-Long, one of the children of the deceased brings a little food to the grave for two or three days immediately after the funeral, and that is all. (Photos 198 and 199, Plate 42, represent the funeral of a rich "Méo" who was "ly-truong" of the commune of Pha-Long. Except in the matter of the coffin, made in this case with great care of unrottable planks, in the Chinese manner, the ceremony was just as simple as for a poor "Méo.")

765 Mourning is marked by the wearing of a white turban.

The "Méo," properly speaking, have no religion and evince
771 the same spirit of independence toward the gods as toward man. In the same way, as we have already pointed out, they do not even practice ancestral worship except in the vaguest manner. The an-
769 cestral altar consists generally of one or several bands of red paper,
778 glued to a partition in the hall of honor. Below these there is a small table holding a bowl full of sand, into which is stuck, from time to time, a stick of lighted incense.

The worship amounts to a few invocations and the offering of food, when a feast is held in the house.

The "Méo" recognize the spirit of the heavens ("Tô"), of the
776 earth ("Ang"), of the mountains ("sien-chen"), of the thunder ("lu-chen"), of the waters (the dragon "Lông-wâng"), and the spirits of the hearth ("tsao-chen").

The "Méo" are acquainted with the legend of the flood which
773 we have already told: a single couple, brother and sister, surviving the cataclysm, whose incestuous union produced a calabash. The seeds of this calabash gave birth to man kind.

That which especially characterizes the "Méo" is that, al-
776 though they believe in the existence of evil spirits, capable of

[168]

764

199. "Méo" funeral. Digging the Grave.

198. "Méo" Funeral. The Interment.

524

342
231

168. "Méo" Revolving Seesaw.

385. Performing Monkey Trained by a "Méo."

764

Certain peculiarities relative to funeral ceremonies should be pointed out. The body of the deceased is either stretched out on a cot or fixed to a plank, which in certain tribes is laid out along a partition for three or four days preceding burial. The body is dressed in its finest garments, from which buttons and fastenings have been removed, so that the soul may leave the corpse more easily. A square of red linen is placed over the lower part of the face and on the mouth. The children offer a feast to relatives and friends. The guests present pigs, goats, and dogs, to the deceased, whose flesh will be served to them at the funeral meals. A dog, also prepared for cooking, is attached to the right hand of the deceased by a paw and is supposed /144/ to guide his wandering foot-steps in the other world. The dead person is borne into his grave on the plank to which he is fixed, and the coffin is constructed in the trench even as among the Man Tien. The family's meal is brought to the grave for two or three days, then it is abandoned completely.

771

The Meo are the most eclectic of the mountaineers in matters of religion and superstition. They have in their homes an altar to the Ancestors. But this piece of furniture is no more than a small plank suspended by two cords along a partition, and on it is a small ash-bowl in which the sticks of incense are placed. They also have an altar just as crude for the worship of the Hearth. They worship Heaven and Earth as dieties, venerate the Buddhist goddess Quan Am as a good Madonna, the Spirit of Thunder and the Dragon, and believe in three human souls like all the peoples of the Far East. Finally, they are much less afraid then the other mountaineers of Evil Spirits and Demons, to whom they are satisfied to attribute the cause of certain diseases. Their sorcerers are not to be distinguished from the rest of the population. They limit themselves to placing a white veil over their face while officiating at ceremonies. All of the festivals, whatever they may be, are accompanied by music, songs, and feasts irrigated with alcohol.

791

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/35/

c) Family Units

AM 614 [764]

Neither among the Meau nor among the Akha do the sibs /Sippen/ live locally separated or have their own totems. On the other hand, the Akha have their own burial places, but the Meau do not. Likewise among the two peoples there are no religious sib-celebrations or common insignia or individual sib-heads. The unit is not the sib, but the large /extended/ family /Grossfamilie/, which lives in one house and consists of the head of the family, his unmarried sons and daughters, and, among the Meau, the married sons up to the end of their thirtieth year and their families.

AM 596

The rights of the head of a large family are very extensive. All those living in the house, wives, children, and grandchildren, must obey him; he has unlimited authority, and he may punish, beat, or, among the Meau, in special cases even kill the members of the household under him. This is not the case among the Akha, among whom only twins are killed (cf. the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Birth"). Otherwise, however, the head of the large family, who is responsible for the well-being of all the others, irrevocably decides all the disputes within his household community.

In view of the proverbial compatibility of the members of a Meau family, the head of such a large family hardly ever has occasion actually to interfere, but on the other hand, he often does among the Akha. Among the Meau I repeatedly observed that the head did not make a decision without first consulting with the sons who lived under his roof. There was never a decision against the will of the subordinate concerned. The sons, too, however, avoided expressing their opinion until after they had conferred with the head of the large family. In such cases I was always given the answer: "This is not our business; we must first ask the father."

AM [769] [756]

It is the duty of the head to officiate and offer the sacrifices in connection with the religious festivals of the large family, namely, the festivals for the dead or the veneration of the ancestors. If especially important affairs are involved, for instance, if measures have to be taken in connection with the

Akha AO4
Miao AE5

/115 cont./

A 586 837 the expenses of a feast in which the whole village participates.

h) Old Age and Death

A M 888 [590] Among both the Akha and the Meau the families regard it as their highest duty to provide well for the aged and to treat them very well. Thus old people have a pleasant old age within the community of the large /extended/ family to which they belong and which provides for them. Even old people who no longer have their own sib to care for them do not have to worry because, as was described, they are received into another sib (see the chapter "Social Organization," the section on "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization").

A M 763 203 [205] Among both tribes a person's death is quickly made known by means of gong beats and messengers. Hardly a few minutes pass, and the village community is informed. The members of the family, friends, and relatives who live in other villages are also summoned by messengers.

A M 764 In the meantime the corpse is washed, wrapped in new clothes, and, among the Meau, laid out without ornaments on a mat in front of the altar (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo"). Later the corpse is placed in a shallow basket. Two bamboo sticks are stretched crosswise over this basket, the turban of the deceased is wound on them, and the clothes of the dead are placed on top. Food-

A M [782] [775] stuffs, expecially rice cakes, are placed on the rice basket as an offering for the soul (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

M 764 775 Marabail (1) reports a strange custom of the Meau of

1. Page 461.

Indochina: "If a person has died, some money is placed in his mouth and all the buttons are cut from the clothing of the deceased, so that the soul may vanish more quickly. /116/ A

M [789] piece of red cloth is placed upon the lower portion of the face. Then the gong-beating begins in order to ward off the evil

/116 cont./

764 [775] [789] spirits, a pig and a couple of chickens are slaughtered, and the soul is invited to feast on them. Then a great dance takes place."

The deathwatch is maintained by the parents, the surviving spouse, and the children. After a few hours, two or three of these closest relatives relieve one another. During the deathwatch relatives and condoling friends, whose numbers depend on the importance of the deceased, speak of the dead [766] person and mourn his passing. If the deceased was a distinguished man, his body lies in state for two days; in the case of a humble man and women and children, only one day.

614 764 [322] During the deathwatch the men of the sib prepare the coffin for the deceased. For this purpose a tree trunk of a proper length for the deceased is hollowed out. No ceremonies and no special handling of the tools are connected with the carving of the coffin. They go about this work in the same way as they do when they make a pig trough. Then the corpse is put, on its back, into the coffin, and the latter is closed with two boards. Toward twelve o'clock the same men begin to dig a grave at a place in the jungle selected by them. Since there are no cemeteries, and no special burying grounds for the sib, the choice of the site is left to these men, who perform this work as a pious service and have no other function in con- [767] nection with the burial. -- There are no professional gravediggers.

764 The grave is always laid out in an east-west direction, and in stony or level ground it is dug out about one meter deep, otherwise another half a meter.

The burial takes place between about two and three [614] o'clock. The closest male members of the sib who are able-bodied carry the coffin to the burial place, accompanied by all the sib members and guests. Here it is let down into the pit in such a way that the corpse lies horizontally in the grave, with the head toward the east and the feet toward the west. The Meau of today no longer know why this direction is observed; they are following a /117/ custom handed down from

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site. [766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 782 After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered without much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the [556] sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the [533] slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, [775] if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninterruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days additional [775] sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[766] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, women, and children, with no differences other than that the [554] sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the

764 766 177

1. Page 168.

burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

Miao AE5

/117 cont./

764 114 Other forms of burial, including platform-burial, are unknown among the Meau in Thailand according to my observations, contrary to the statements made by Seidenfaden (2).

2. II, p. 173.

765 /118/ And just as little is known about any later digging up of all or part of the corpse. On the other hand, according to statements of the Meau, the Yau later clean the bones of their dead and then rebury them. Lanjonquière (1) heard similar

1. II, p. 319.

accounts, but reports: "It appears improbable that the Black Meau of Pakha dig up the bones again after three years, clothe them anew, and bury them again."

764 114 Contrary to my observations, Dhuraratsadorn (2) states

2. Page 173.

that, to be sure, no burning, but three types of burial are practiced among the Meau. As the first he names the lowering of the body sheltered in the coffin into the grave in the earth, as the second the erection of a high stone grave-mound on the grave, and as the third the platform burial. I do not find his assertions substantiated, however, either through personal observations or by other authors.

765 [292] The mourning period lasts twelve days. During this time, a white turban is worn by the closest relatives of the deceased, his parents and the surviving wives and children. Abadie (3), by the way, describes the same observation.

3. Page 153.

[582] [834] After the death of one of the parents, the children,

/118 cont./

765 and likewise a widower after the death of his wife, are for-
582 bidden to marry or to have sexual intercourse for one year.
834 Widows, however, are subject to these restrictions for one
week. The festival of the dead is celebrated one year after the
769 funeral at the latest. The date is not fixed; a sufficient supply
of food is collected for it first, since all the relatives and
friends of the deceased, even from the neighboring villages,
appear at this celebration. One to three pigs are slaughtered,
[556 depending on the wealth and the social position of the deceased
574 and on the number of guests, the feast is prepared, and alcohol
782] and rice are also served. No sacrifices, however, are offered
on this occasion, and there are no subsequent ceremonies.
764 Lajonquière (4) gives an impressive, somewhat different

4. II, p. 318.

description of a Meau burial: "The burial customs are not always the same among the various tribes, but in our opinion the following are the most invariable ones: When a Meau has died, the sorcerer, provided that there is one in the area, is informed. With or /119/ without his help, the deceased is clothed in his best garments and tied in an erect position to one of the partitions of the house; then the funeral rites begin, in which the friends and neighbors participate. They last three days, during which there is a succession of feasts and dances. They eat in honor of the dead and with many kind words invite him to participate. His children even try to squeeze pieces of meat between the stiff lips.

"One or two buffalo have been slaughtered for the guests;
764 a dog is killed for the deceased, prepared, and, with a paper
775 string in its mouth, which is tied to the wrist of the corpse,
is put beside it. (A Meau whom we questioned about the meaning of this custom told us that the dog was assigned the task of leading his master on the paths of the other world.)"

/119 cont./

764 [775] This peculiar custom is also mentioned by Maspero (1),

1. Page 244.

who asserts that, instead of a dog, an ox is sometimes used.

Lajonquière's description continues: "On the third day, corpse and coffin are carried to the grave separately; moreover, a coffin is not always used. In order to drive away evil [789] spirits, small cannons are fired, or, if they are not available, guns, around the funeral procession. The latter consists of the sorcerer, the children of the deceased, and several friends. In [767] some regions the gravediggers march in step in a special way, which represents a kind of dance. As soon as the grave has been closed, a mound is heaped over it, which in Pakha, for example, is covered with flat stones. The bier on which the deceased was carried is smashed to pieces on it, a little food is left in the vicinity, and everybody returns home and ends the day eating and drinking...

765 775 "For one or two days, sometimes even longer, a member of the family returns to the grave in order to bring food to the deceased; then he is forgotten."

764 [114] [562] This description is borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (2),

2. Page 168.

who, however, adds that women do not take part in burials.

765 Lajonquière (3) stresses that actually there is no mourning

3. II, p. 319.

[302] among the Meau. During the three days of the funeral rites, the children of the deceased wear their hair loose and hanging down over their shoulders, but nothing is changed in their dress.

AKha AO4
Miao AE5

/120/

M 764 [114] [789] Savina (1) reports briefly and likewise somewhat differ-

1. II, p. 229.

ently on the burial customs of the Meau: "As soon as someone has died, the drum is beaten and guns fired in order to drive away the evil spirits. People come to the house, bemoan the dead, and begin to drink liquor and to eat meat. On the third day the deceased is buried under the supervision of a shaman. The latter tosses a chicken into the air and sees from its fluttering which way the soul will go. The grave is made, about a meter deep, where it falls. The coffin is a hollowed-out tree trunk. A small mound is made on the grave with a few stones."

M [787] [775] [825]

A 764 628 [203] [765] The burial customs of the Akha are similar at some points to those of the Meau. As among the latter, among the Akha, too, the guests from the surrounding villages are invited to the funeral by messengers. Until their arrival all work ceases in the mourning village; no one leaves the village, and moreover, as a sign of mourning, even the inhabitants of those villages from which a number of persons have set out for the funeral as mourners retire into their houses.

A 764 Among the Akha the deceased is washed and, attired in his best clothing and silver ornaments, is laid out on a sleeping mat, over which is put a new white cotton cloth. The corpse is put on its back, and, while it is still warm, the toes and hands are tied so that when rigor mortis sets in the limbs will remain in the desired position. It is seen to that the arms of the corpse are stretched out and that the palms of the hands remain turned toward each other. Members of the family, friends, and, in the case of distinguished men, many village inhabitants, squat beside the corpse and around the house of the dead and maintain the deathwatch day and night and utter the lament for the dead. The members of the family go from one to the other of those present, in order to serve everyone.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/149 cont./

c) Dancing

A M 535 [171]

In the cult of the Meau, dancing plays an important role, as it does among the Akha, Lahu, and Lisu.

The Akha, like the Meau, know only one men's dance, which Abadie (1) as well as Lajonquière (2) confirm for the

1. Page 169.

2. II, p. 311.

Meau, while women's dances are not known at all among the Meau. The dance consists of quick turns and twists of the body; from time to time the dancer goes into a squatting position and then makes great leaps. Without paying any attention to the number of dancers present, each one moves independently while playing on his mouth organ, whose construction, as /150/ has been described, permits playing without pause. I never witnessed a dance where the mouth organ was not played.

M 114 535 796 [764]

The dance of the Meau is purely a cult dance, and therefore the use of the sacral mouth-organ calls for the dance movements, and the latter, in turn, require the musical accompaniment. As was stated in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Old Age and Death," Lajonquière (1) asserts that in

1. II, p. 318.

some areas the coffin is carried to the grave in a kind of dance step. This would be the only occasion on which several Meau dancing at the same time execute the same dance movement. Furthermore the same author (2) states: The Meau dance when

2. II, p. 312.

M [273]

they are in a good mood, for instance, on market days, when they customarily imbibe heartily. They also dance in connection with certain ceremonies, for instance, a burial..." I was unable to confirm the first assertion; on the other hand,

/168 cont./

231 776 [731] [789] [243] If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764] [775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen do nă thu /169/ pĕ dŏ. Savina (1) [114] [773]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for instance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore especially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals [931] [825] [224] of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

[973] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who [821] [626] makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They presume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

Miao AES

/185 cont./

755 corners. Then the chief burns the sacrificial money again in order to drive out the evil spirit in this way also.

Another hour passes without anything special happening. During this time the shaman continues his conjurations and rhythmical movements without interruption. Then at last he removes the black cloth from his face and with this the conjura- [787] tions come to an end. He is bathed in sweat. Nevertheless he picks up the oracle horns in order to ascertain whether the ceremony has had the desired result. Next he passes his magic rattle around the light and around the incense candles on the altar and thanks his teacher-spirit and the assistant spirits. With the patient between them, the chief and the eldest son step before the altar, bow to the ground with folded hands, and thank the spirits and the shaman for their help.

[123] I subsequently actually cured the patient with plasmochin and atabrine.

756 Other authors have also mentioned the shaman and his activities according to their own attitudes and the regions visited. Baron von Eickstedt, for instance, impressively describes a ceremony with a shaman, and Savina (1) remarks on this subject:

1. II, p. 257.

[596] "In everyday life the head of the family maintains relations with the world of spirits. Only on solemn occasions are the shamans called in. They are at the same time priests, physicians, magicians, soothsayers, and diviners. As priests they appear 756 only at burials and in time of war. When someone dies, the ●764 txi neng is called immediately. When he arrives, he dresses the corpse and arranges everything in the house: the time when people are to weep or play the creng (mouth organ) or beat the [782] drum. He also says how many buffalo or cattle are to be slaughtered. He recites before the dead the old traditions about the creation of human beings, death, ascension, /186/ and judgment. When the ceremonies are over, the corpse is put on a bed of state outside. At the moment when the last buffalo is slaughtered, the shaman takes the rope and places it between

/186 cont./

the hands of the dead." (In this connection I refer to my remarks concerning this author and the objectives of his investigation in the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales," pp. 302-303.)

Lajonquière (1) gives the following portrayal: "Among the

1. II, p. 313.

Meau there are some individuals, half priests and half sorcerers, without a cult or ordination, who, however, ascribe to themselves supernatural powers. They close their eyes and release their soul from the mortal body so that it may make contact with the spirits in the depths of the earth. As special clothing, the sorcerers merely have a white veil which they put over their faces before the ceremony. Music and dancing play an important role in this, but it always ends with an elaborate feast."

According to the data of the various authors cited and my own observations, an error must be involved when Dhuraratsadorn (2)

2. Page 172.

writes that the Meau have no priests at all. At any rate, I could find a very clear separation of the activities of the male and female shamans from those of the other Meau, who, to be sure, also perform various magical procedures. Among them there is the hunting magic, which is practiced by successful hunters both among the Akha and the Meau without requiring the help or the presence of the shaman. For this magic the hunter must smear the front part of his crossbow with the blood of the slain animal. He then glues a few hairs or feathers, depending on whether a bird or other game is involved, to the blood and now believes that he will soon again be equally successful with the weapon. It is possible that such magical procedures which are feasible for every Meau have led to the view that this people has no individuals who can be regarded expressly as priests, that is, shamans. On the contrary, the activity of the shamans is very extensive.

/208 cont./

769 782 [852] [764] As has already been described in detail in the pertinent sections of the chapter, "Life in the Community," sacrifices are offered to the ancestors on the third day after the birth of a child, in connection with the conclusion of a marriage, and at the burial of a human being. When it is a matter of the death of the head of a family, his chief wife, together with the oldest son of the deceased, offers a sacrifice.

The Meau is not satisfied, however, with the sacrifices mentioned, for the ancestors play an important role in all the details of his everyday life. For example, the spirits are informed of any change in the number of the livestock of the household, since whenever anyone sacrifices an animal, he does not fail to let some blood drip upon sacral paper and in burning this, calls upon the ancestors to enjoy themselves as well. If [437] an animal is sold alive, one sacrifices an appropriate amount of spirit-money to the ancestors, informs them of the sale, and thanks them for their help in letting the animal become large and strong. Even if one only sells a little pig, he remembers the ancestors and thanks them for letting the sow become so great with young and bring so many young into the world.

484 782 [461] Sacrifices are made not only before decisive events, but also before beginning any kind of work or prior to a journey. I was able to take part in one such sacrifice. The brother-in-law of Chief Tsin Tsai had come for a visit and now intended to return to his village. The chief decided to sacrifice a pig in order to make sure that his relative would have a safe trip. The sacrifice was offered to the high Father-Mother spirit, and accordingly the bench that otherwise stood in front of the altar within the house was set up in front of the house. The fettered live pig was put on it in such a way /209/ that its snout projected beyond it. On the ground under it spirit-money in the value of the pig was burned, and through this it was "bought" from the spirits (Ill. 103).[1] The bench was then cleared, and on it the chief placed bowls of tea and incense candles and added six pieces of spirit-money, each having the spirit-value of 25 pieces of silver. Next he picked up the oracle horns and asked the [787] spirits whether his brother-in-law would have a safe journey home.

[1] [see cat 116, P704- ANALYST]

/215 cont./

A 782 [778] [241] to him there (see the section, "Deities and Spirits," in this chapter). On certain occasions each year sacrifices are regularly offered to a number of spirits, as has already been reported in the section referred to.

A 782 796 [769] Among the Akha, too, the New Year's festival has great importance with regard to sacrifices, since at this festival, which, as among the Meau, lasts four days, sacrifices are likewise made to the ancestors and all of the spirits in accordance with their significance. Telford (1) has found similar conditions among the Akha in Kengtung: "The New Year's festival lasts four days. The people eat rice cakes and chickens and drink tea and liquor. Part of this is offered to the spirits, for the core of this festival is the feeding of the ancestral souls."

A [778] 1. Page 109.

A [769]

Aside from the fixed times, among the Akha -- as among the Meau -- sacrifices are offered whenever special occasions require it, such as sickness, misfortune, death, and birth, but also in case of a violation of a taboo and similar occurrences. Sacrifices are primarily offered by the shamans, but also by the village elders, the family fathers, and, substituting for them, their wives.

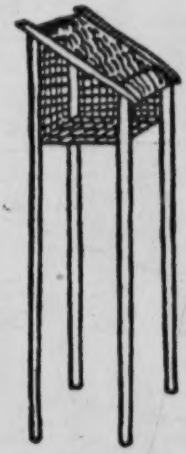


Fig. 56
Little sacrificial house of the Akha. 1/40 nat. size.

A [688]

A M 782 [231] /216/ Both tribes use food, meat or whole animals, field products, and alcohol, as sacrifices. The pig is the most important sacrificial animal, followed by chickens and dogs. Pieces of the meat of all the other animals eaten are to be sure, similarly sacrificed, as are those of every other food, which is shared with the ancestors and spirits, but these animals are not associated with the cult. Savina (1) reports that the Meau in

A M [764] [114] 1. II, p. 200.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/216 cont./

A M 782 764 114 Indochina slaughter six buffalo when a chief dies and two upon the death of a common man. Scott (2) reports that upon the death of

2. Page 275.

an Akha five buffalo are killed. Unfortunately, however, in all the cases it is not apparent whether these are sacrifices or merely roasted meat for the survivors and guests, or both.

M 114 266 782 A [782] Like the Meau, the Akha, too, do not know human sacrifice or the offering of human flesh. The statement in the old Chinese literature (3) that the Meau eat their slain enemies raw,

3. Album Gotha, No. 38.

as well as the general remark (4) that cannibalism occurs, prob-

4. Eberhard, II, p. 266.

ably has nothing to do with sacrifice or religion. In my opinion the Chinese authors simply wanted to impute to their mortal enemies a crime which is particularly wicked in the eyes of the Chinese.

A 825 178 [782] Among the Akha there is a noteworthy custom of taking the skull and lower jaw of certain animals taken while hunting, such as bear, muntjac, and wild pig, and fastening them for the house spirit in front of his little niche between the two rooms of the dwelling (see section, "Deities and Spirits," of the present chapter). In some places among the Akha one finds rows of monkeys' skulls nailed to the roofs. Today the Akha explain this custom as an attempt to beautify the dwelling of the house spirit and sometimes the house itself. The question was sometimes answered: "We do this because our ancestors did it." In other words, tradition was given as the reason for the custom. A [727] [174] Might this perhaps be a relic of a lost head-hunting cult? The taboo on killing the hornbill, which will be mentioned later, likewise points in this direction.

/246 cont./

428 blood relatives, as well as adopted brothers, receive no share
[597] in the inheritance as long as the direct heirs named are present.
Aside from possible fees, if the shaman has been asked to
[756] officiate at the burial, he, as well as the village chief, formerly
[622] the great chief, receives none of the estate. The distribution
[634] of the estate takes place under the supervision of the principal
heir, who also receives the clothing of his deceased father.

[562] Even if there are no sons, but daughters are present, they
[596] are still excluded from the inheritance. In this case, the
oldest brother of the deceased moves into his house as the chief
heir and new head of the large family, takes over all the prop-
erty of the deceased, and provides for the girls as though he
were the only son. In practice this situation probably never
[597] happens, for the head of a large family to whom daughters were
born, but not sons would have adopted a boy in time. The
latter would then marry one of the daughters and become the
sole heir. /247/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in a similar vein:

428
562

1. Page 169.

"Girls receive nothing, unless the deceased is survived exclusively by unmarried daughters. If the deceased is survived only by married daughters, all of whom have left the paternal home, they inherit nothing at all, and the estate passes to the closest
[597] male relative. An exception is made if a woman and her husband live under one roof with her parents (adoption). In this case the estate is divided between her and the son of the deceased. Her husband cannot inherit from his parents, since he has given up all ties of kinship with his natural parents."

428 The situation is similar in case of childlessness. In such
[597] cases, too, the man would long before have adopted one or probably several boys, who would have the same rights as natural sons. If a Meau should die after he has lost all his sons,
[596] which may happen in epidemics, the oldest brother of the
[764] deceased becomes the principal heir, who moves into the house
[589] of the deceased, takes care of the funeral, and with whom the widows remain as a rule. Nevertheless, in this, as in every other

AKha A04
MiaoAE5

M 428 [589] [596] [605] [622] [764]
/247 cont./ case, the widows are free to decide whether to stay or to marry again. If there are no brothers of the deceased, the oldest cousin takes their place; if cousins, too, are lacking, the village chief takes care of the burial and distributes the estate among the house owners of his village.

Among the Akha, under somewhat different regulations, the oldest son of the deceased is the principal heir; if there is no son, the oldest brother.

A 428 [596]
Among the Akha, however, the principal heir takes over only the house of the deceased. The other possessions, such as money, domestic animals, house furnishings, implements, and supplies, are distributed equally among all the sons of the deceased, without waiting for the death of the wife or wives of the former head. If there are no surviving sons, the brothers of the deceased take their place. At any rate, the female members of the family of the deceased, regardless of whether they are widows or daughters, are not considered any more than they are among Meau. They retain only the clothing and the few ornaments that represent their meager personal property, and otherwise they go completely empty-handed.

A [562] [422]

A [595]
/248/ If the chief wife dies, her husband inherits everything, even her personal clothing. Usually, however, he then distributes the latter among the other women who belong to the household.

A [756] [622]
Among the Akha, too, other persons, such as the chief or shaman, have no claim to the estate. Testamentary dispositions are possible only within the legal inheritance regulations. The father of a family, for instance, may, during his lifetime, specify which of his sons should inherit, say, a ring that he particularly values. He can thus pass over the principal heir and bestow the article on a younger son. He cannot, however, bequeath any article of his property to a friend or blood brother outside the family.

A [572] [608]